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SIR THOMAS MORE.

UTOPIA. 1516.

LONDON:

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On each Friday in Lent, 1549.

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3. ARGUMENTS, SAYINGS, &c. . . . . .

In this world God has two swords; a temporal in the hands of Kings, magistrates, rulers; and a spiritual in the hands of ministers and preachers. The king corrects transgressors, yea and the preacher also, if he be an offender. The preacher corrects and reproves the King, fearing no man, setting God only before his eyes . .

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iv. The King shall not multiply to himself TOO MUCH *gold and silver*

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(a) So this gentleman commeth up now with sedition. And wot ye what? I chanced in my last Sermon to speak a merry word of the new shilling, to refresh my audience, how I was like to put away my new shilling for an old groat [p. 35], I was herein noted to speake seditiously 8

(b) When I was in trouble, it was objected and said unto me, that I was singular, that no man thought as I thought, that I loved a singularity in all that I did . . . Marry sir this was a sore thunderbolt I thought it was an irksome thing to be alone, and to have no fellow. I thought it was possible it might not be true that they told me' as of Christ in John. ch. vii. "I thought I was not alone. I have now gotten one fellow more, a companion of sedition, and wot ye who is my fellow? Isaiah the Prophet [i. 22.] Ah seditious wretch what had he to do with the Mint?" Here he meddleth also with vintners? (I must tell you more news yet. I hear say, there is a certain cunning come up in mixing of wares. The clothmakers have become apothecaries.) Isaiah goeth yet on. He calls magistrates unfaithful and fellows of thieves. There are two kinds of thieving. Robbery is a gross kind and Bribery a princely kind of thieving. 'Giff-gaff was a good fellow. This Giff-gaff led them clean from justice'" . . . 84—8

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THE TEXT. 1 Sam. viii. 1—3, and xii. 2—5. .

'The unlearned (although I am sure, here be a great many

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Some
circumstances in the
LIFE, &c.
of
Master HUGH LATIMER,
chiefly referring to or illustrated by
these
SERMONS.

* Probable or approximate dates.

1485. Aug. 22. Henry VII. becomes King.

Childhood.

*1491. HUGH LATIMER is born at Thurcaston. A church—built in 1568, on the site of a more is usually called *Latimer's* house. *J. Nichs of Leicester. iii.* 1056, 1061-70.

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How they called pigs in his country (Leices

His father carefully trains him in archery,

*1505. He goes to Cambridge.

1509. Apr. 22. Henry VIII. begins to reign.

At Cambridge.

The merry monk of his college, ℔ 106.

1510. Jan. Graduates B.A. *Univ. Regr.*

æt. 18. There were several Latimers at Cambric time. This professor of Greek there was mer, not *Hugh* Latimer; as stated in *The* 1868.

1514. July. Graduates M.A. *Univ. Regr.*

æt. 22. When a priest, his anxiety to mix sufficie the wine in the Sacrament, ℔ 86.

*1521 or 1522. 'Litle Bilney,' ℔ 189, converts him to Prot

*1529. The robbery at Oxford, ℔ 119.

1530. Mar. 12. Preaches his first sermon before Henry VI

At Court.

Comes to court, as a chaplain. The advic gave him then, ℔ 201.

As he afterwards tells the king, 'I never tl worthy, nor I never sued to be a preache Grace, but I was called to it.' ℔ 83.

? What a Bishop said once to him, ℔ 65.

1535. Cardinal Pole publishes at Rome, his lette in 4 books, *Pro ecclesiasticæ imitatis defensio*

Bishop of Worcester.

1535. Oct. 5. Latimer becomes Bishop of Worcester.

1537. May—June. His conversation in the Tower with [who was beheaded June 20], ℔ 119.

T. Dorset, Curate of St. Margaret's, L writes to his friends:—

1538. Mar. 10. 'On Sunday last the byshope of Worcest Paulis Crosse, and he saide that byshopis, a parsonis, cannonis resident, pristis, and all, thevis, ye dukis, lordis, and all; the kyng, q a marvelles good acte of parliament that should sowe euery of them ij. acres of hemp all to litle were it so moche more, to hange t be in England. Byshopis, abbatis, with soch not haue so many servauntes, nor so many d goo to their first foundacion, and kepe hospit the nedye people, not jolye felowis with go and veluet gownys, ne let theym not onis howses of religioun for repaste; let then bysshope, knaue abbat, knaue prior, yet fed all, nor their horses, nor their doggis, nor y

Bishop of Worcester.

libertye: also to ete fleshe and whit mete in Lent, so that it be don without hurtyng of weke consciences, and without sedition, and lykewise on Fridaye and all dayes.'—*Cottonian M.S. Cleop. E. iv. fol.* 110. [*See Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries, Ed. by T. Wright, p* 38. *Ed.* 1843.]

? 'I was once at Oxford . . . I lay there a night.' The execution there, *p* 101.

? May 1. Riding home from London, he intends preaching in a town on his way, 'because it was a holy day' [Feast of the Apostles *Philip and James*] He expects to find 'a greate company' in the church: but is forced to give way to Robin Hood, *p* 173.

? Is accused of sedition in presence of the king, *p* 83.

Is accused of a syngularity in all that he dyd, *p* 84.

1539. June 1. He resigns his bishopric. 'As for my quondamshyp I thancke God that he gaue me ye grace to come by it by so honest a meanes as I dyd,' *p* 108.

In ward.

1539. Is defrauded of his Pentecostal due of £55, *p* 83.

Is in ward with Bp. of Chichester, and in daily expectation of death, *p* 120. For nearly the next eight years he is 'commanded to silence.'

1547. Jan. 29. Edward VI. ascends the throne.

'Preaching for the most part every Sunday two Sermons'—*Bernher.*

1548. Jan. 1. æt. 57. In the 1. of Ianuary doctor Latimer preached at Paules crosse, which was the first sermon by him preached in almost eight yeeres before, for at the making of the sixe articles, he being bishop of Worcester would not consent vnto them, and therfore was commanded to silence, and gaue vp his bishoprike: he also preached at Pauls crosse

8. on the 8. of Ianuary; where he affirmed, that whatsoeuer the cleargie commanded, ought to be obeyed, but he also declared that the cleargie are such as sit in *Moyses* chaire,

15. and breake not their masters commission: adding nothing

29. thereto, nor taking any thing there from: and such a clergy must be obeied of all men, both high and lowe. He also preached at Paules on the 15. and on the 29. of Ianuary. *J. Stow, Chronicles, p* 1002. *Ed.* 1605.

Mar. 7. The 7. of March, being Wednesday was a pulpit set vp in the kings prime garden at Westminster, and there in doctor *Latimer* preached before the king, where he mought be heard of more than foure times so manie people as could haue stod in the kings chappel: and this was the first sermon preached there. *Idem.*

[*The Literary Remains of Ed. VI.* Edited by J. S. Nichols. Roxburghe Club, 1857, and *Burghley State Papers*, Edited by Rev. S. Haynes, 1740, are recommended for full details as to the following.]

25. (Palm Sunday) Latimer preached before the King: and receives the usual 20s for his labour.

1549. Jan. 17. æt. 58. The 16. of Ianuarie, Sir *Tho. Seimer* knight of the gartar, baron of Sudley, lord admirall, brother to the lord Proctector, and vncle vnto king Edward, was arrested, and sent to the tower of London . . . *J. Stow, idem, p* 1004.

Jan. 18. Latimer preaches in St. Paul's 'shrouds,' the sermon on *The Ploughers.*

He lives with Cranmer at Lambeth Palace. Poor people come to him in the garden to have their suits heard, *p* 72.

? Attends a sermon at Paul's Cross, *p* 89.

Feb. 23. *The council go in a body to the Tower to examine the Lord Admiral on 33 articles. He refuses to answer, except on arraignment.*

24. *The King consents to his prosecution.*

'The famous fryday sermons,' *p* 19.

25. A deputation from both houses of Parlia the Tower. Lord Seymour replies to 3 artic to answer the rest.

25—Mar. 6. A Bill of Attainder of the Lord through both Houses of Parliament.

Mar 5. (Friday) *The first sermon*, in Lent, b at Westminster. 'The duty of a King.'

'I haue no cause to complaine, for I thar King I haue sufficient,' *p* 40.

A gentleman, 'suche an one that rode cuses him of sedition to the king, *pp* 78, 84

A bishop's opinion of this sermon, *p* 108.

10. (Sunday) The King assents to the Bill Lord Seymour. Rev. John Joseph, D Mary-le-Bow, preaches before the King.

15. (Friday) Goodrich Bp of Ely sent to pr Admiral for death.

The second sermon. 'The duty of a Ki The above bishop's chaplain complains o *p* 66; *see p* 108.

17. (Sunday) The Lord Admiral's executio Council for the following Wednesday. Eyre, D.D., preaches before the King.

(Wednesday) The Lord Admiral is behe

22. (Friday) *The third sermon.* 'The unju

4. (Sunday) Rev. Matthew Parker, after preaches before the King.

28. (Thursday) "xxxiij. Martij.—This d Stanhope knt. by commandment and ord protector's grace and counsaile, received of such the King's money as came of ce now delivered by th' exhortation of the sai the summe of iijcl\xxiijli. [£373] whereo presently Lli. [£50] by way of the King given to the said mr Latymer in respect of court this Lent, and the rest to be used for charge." *Privy-council Register, M.S. Mus.* 14,024: fol. 107. *See Lit. Rem. of E*

Latimer—for his defence of the Governt to Dr. Ralph Shaw, who on 22 June, 1483, preached that Edward IV.'s sons were bas

29. (Friday) *The fourth sermon.* 'The ur

31. (Sunday) Rev. James Curthop, Dean o preaches before the King; *see p* 136.

Apr. 5. (Friday) *The fifth sermon.* 'The lawfu

7. (Sunday) Name of preacher on this da

12. (Friday) *The sixth sermon.* 'The mi of Fishes.'

14. (Sunday) Rev. Richard Coxe, D.D., the preaches before the King.

19. (Good Friday) *The seventh sermon.* 'T Garden.'

Later public acts.

1550. Lent. "And here I would be a Suter vnto you come now to take my leaue, and to take m at least wise in this place, for I haue not that I thinke I shall neuer come here into and therefore I will aske a petition of you the love of God take an order for marriag land." *Last sermon before Ed. VI. Ed.*

1550. Lent. Thomas Lever preaches before the King

1551. Latimer named a commissioner on the E.

Seven Sermons before Edward VI.

INTRODUCTION.

IN a time of seething change, of not a little uncertainty, and of exciting conflict in religious and social life; the Great Preacher of England once more comes forth to preach. Not on this occasion chiefly to citizens, as in the four sermons upon God's seed and God's ploughers, to the Londoners in the 'Shrouds at paules churche' two months ago; but now, he stands in the presence of the young King, of the Lord Protector and the Council, of the Court, and—in so far as any spontaneous assembly could represent it—of the Nation at large.

From the 1st July, 1539, when Latimer laid down his bishophood rather than accept 'The Act of the Six Articles,' until the accession of Edward VI.,—nearly eight years—he, John Stow tells us, had been 'commanded to silence.' He had signalized his resumption of the office of a preacher, with a sermon at Paul's Cross on 1st January, 1548; and Augustine Bernher, his Swiss servant, testifies 'he continued all Kyng Edwardes tyme, preaching for the most part euery Sonday two Sermons.' So that his fame increased yet more and more, and the knowledge that he was about to preach attracted a large audience.

This was the third time he had preached Lenten sermons before his Sovereign. In 1534, fifteen years previous, he had preached every Wednesday in Lent before Henry VIII. But a year ago, John Stow tells us,—

> The 7 of March, being Wednesday, was a pulpit set vp in the King's priuie garden at Westminster, and therein doctor *Latimer* preached before the King, where he mought be heard of more then foure times so manie people as could haue stood in the King's chappell: and this was the first sermon preached there.

And now once more he is summoned to like duty, unexpectedly and upon short notice.

The time apparently is in the forenoon. He comes from Lambeth Palace, sometimes on horseback, or—when *he has a purpose* to serve—in a wherry down the river. *Here is his* own picture of himself:—

'I . . . whyche am thoroughe age, boethe weake in
and obliuious, vnapte I am, not only becauſe of paynful ſt
but alſo for the ſhort warning,' *p* 26.

He pictures his audience in thus reproving them

'He [Chryſoſtom] meanes they hard hym [Chriſt] quiet
with out any ſhouelynge of feete, or walkynge vp and do
Surely it is an yl myſorder, that folke ſhalbe walkyng vp
downe in the ſermon tyme (as I haue ſene in this place
Lente) and there ſhalbe ſuche buſſynge and buſſynge in
preachers eare, that it, maketh hym often tymes to forget
matter. O let vs conſider the Kynges Maieſtyes goodnes, T
place was prepared for banketynge of the bodye, and hys
ieſtye hath made it a place for the comforte of the ſoule, an
haue the worde of God preached in it, ſhewynge hereby tha
would haue all hys ſubiectes at it, if it myghte be poſſible. C
ſider what the Kynges Maieſtye hathe done for you, he allo
you all to heare wyth him. Conſider where ye be, fyrſt ye ou
to haue a reuerence to Godds word, and thoughe it be preac
by pore men, yet it is the ſame worde that oure Sauioure ſp
Conſider alſo the preſence of the Kynges Maieſtie Gods h
vycare in earth, hauyng a reſpect to his perſonag, ye ough
haue reuerence to it, and conſider that he is goddes hyghe m
ter, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him o
heryng of gods word. This benefit of his would be thanke
taken, and it would be highly eſtemed. Heare in ſilenc
Chriſoſtom ſayeth. It maye chaunce that ſume in the comp
may fall ſicke, or be diſeaſed, if therebe any ſuche, let then
away with ſilence, let them leaue their ſalutacions tyll they c
in the courte, let them departe with ſilence. I toke occaſio
Chriſoſtomes wordes to admonyſhe you of thys thynge.' *p*
From which it would ſeem that the aſſembly met wi
doors, in a banqueting room of the Palace.

Preaching extempore, with hardly any ſpecific
paration (the ſubject of the fifth ſermon was de
mined upon, while riding from one Palace to
other), one guiding duty directed his thoughts,
to adapt his ſubject to his audience.

'If he [a preacher] preache before a kyng, let hys matte
concernynge the offyce of a kinge.' *p* 25.

'I comminge ridinge in my way, and calling to remembra
wherfore I was ſent, that I muſt preach, and preach afor
kyngs maieſti I thought it mete to frame my preching acc
ing to a king.' *p* 133.

But he remembers others as well; and following
praiſeworthy habit of ſummarizing at the beginnin
each ſermon the teaching of the previous one, we

in his own opening words of the Seventh, the design and purpose worked out by him in this Lenten series.

'Al thynges yat be written, thei be written to be our doctrine. By occasion of thys texte (most honorable audience) I haue walked thys Lente in the brode filde of scripture and vsed my libertie, and intreated of such matters as I thought, mete for thys auditory. I haue had a do wyth many estates, euen with the highest of all, I haue entreated of the dutye of Kynges, of the dutye of maiestrates, and Iudges, of the dutye of prelates, allowyng that yat is good and disalowyng the contrary. I haue taught that we ar all synners, I thinke there is none of vs al, neither precher, nor hearer but we maye be amended, and redresse oure lyues. We maye all saye, yea all the packe of vs, *peccauimus cum patribus nostris.* We haue offended and synned with our forefathers. *In multis offendimus omnes.* There is none of vs al, but we haue in sondry thinges greuously offended almyghtie God. I here intreated of many fautes and rebuked manye kyndes of synnes. I intende to daye by Goddes grace, to shew you the remedy of synne. We be in the place of repentaunce, nowe is the tyme to cal for mercy, whyles we be in this worlde. We be all synners, euen the best of vs all. Therefore it is good to here the remedy of synne. This day is commonlye called good Fryday, although eueri day ought to be with vs good fryday, Yet this day we ar accustomed specially to haue a commemoration and remembraunce of the passion of our sauiour Iesu Christ This daye we haue in memory hys bytter Passion and death, which is the remedy of our syn. Therefore I intende to intreat of a pece of the story of hys passion. I am not able to intreate of all. That I may do that the better, and that it maye bee to the honour of God and edification of youre soules and myne both, I shal desyre you to praye etc.'

This, then, is what he had to say. How he said it must be seen in the discursive discourses themselves.

The sermons of Latimer, T. Lever, and others, preached in king Edward's reign are endued with interest, partly as revealing the reforming spirit of the Reformers, their honesty, courage, and defence of the poor; and partly showing us how the Protestants thought and purposed in the new sunshine of favour that gleamed for a while over them and their works. We must forget all we know since the date of these sermons; and anticipate, as Latimer anticipated, a long life to the King, and the progressive but uninterrupted establishment of the Protestant faith in the land.

The manhood of the champions on both sides of

religious belief is most striking. Men [illegible] upon the truth of their credence, yet [illegible] ready to exact the lives of others for wh[at] to be heresies of faith. So Anabaptists [illegible] only for their belief, extort from Latin[er] admiration. Such frightful mistakes h[ave] committed, thinking they were 'doing [God]

Of the body of Latimer's sermons; the E[ight] King constitute, as it were, the official p[ort] with national affairs. The Seven on *The Lo[rd's]* and those preached 'in Lincolnshire;' deal m[ore] votional exposition and the personal religious

Besides a number of autographical ren[ark] of the Preacher, these sermons contain most data towards the history of England at this They must be read in constant remembra[nce] great Attainder for High Treason just con[cerning] they began, and which resulted in the beh[eading] Tower Hill—on the Wednesday morning b[etween] Third and Fourth sermons—of the king's uncl[e] Admiral, Lord Seymour of Sudely—brother t[o] Protector, the Duke of Somerset. Hence wise hardly necessary episode at the beginn[ing] second sermon. Latimer there narrates the death of Adonijah, to an audience who cou[ld] apply the startling parallel to the great pris[on] Tower. Further on in these sermons he giv[es] and details as to the death and character of some of which were omitted in subsequent

These sermons for the times also bear wit[ness] times. Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, forty viously, had complained of the 'great dearth o[f] in England. Everything had since become, a coming, dearer. These economic changes, being of more value—now accepted as a test prosperity—were looked upon at the time as gated evil. So that from facts narrated in s[ome] *ings*, we now can approximately measure the *wealth in* England, subsequent to the wars o

But the Preacher has not ſimply to do with earthly things. His ſermons are interpenetrated with Scripture; his whole thought is Biblical. To Thomas Some and others he was more than a preacher, he was to them a prophet like unto Elijah.

'Whome God hath appoynted a prophet, vnto our moſt noble Kyng, and vnto our Realme of England, to declare the meſſage of the lyuynge God, to ſupplante and rote out al ſinnes and vice, to plante and graſte in mens hartes the plenteouſnes of al ſpiritual bliſſynges in Ieſus Chryſt our Lorde?' *p* 19.

Theſe 'playn Paſquyls . . . . that kepeth nothing back,' theſe unſparing denunciations of wrong-doing and good-omiſſion, theſe merry or ſhocking tales, this homely but abundant eloquence: theſe, all theſe, were not all Latimer. He had a vivid, though it may be a rough graſp of the unſeen, of the ſpiritual. He equals Luther in his conception of the Evil one; and 'the Contemplation of Hell,' the ugſome and horrible 'Image of death,' 'the noble Ducheſs Faith,' and her attendants, are all moſt ſtriking realizations.

Truly Latimer did what he could with all his might; and a laſting fame is but due to his conſiſtent life, his noble deeds, his martyr's death.

Finally, the Preacher takes leave of King, Court, and People in words of mingled hope and warning: words worthy of him, and as true now as when, with their laſt ſound, cloſed 'the famous Friday ſermons of Lent,' 1549.

'Loke where remiſſion of ſin is, ther is acknowledging of ſin alſo. Fayth is a noble duches, ſhe hath euer her gentleman vſher going before her, the confeſſing of ſinnes, ſhe hath a trayne after her, the frutes of good workes, the walking in the commaundementes of god. He yat beleueth, wyll no[t] be idle, he wyl walke, he wil do his buſines, haue euer the gentleman vſher with you. So if ye wil trye fayth, remember this rule, conſider whether the trayne be waytinge vpon her. Yf you haue another fayth then thys, a whoremonkers fayth, you are lyke to go [to] ye Scalding houſe, and ther you ſhal haue two diſhes, wepynge and gnaſhinge of teeth, muche good do it you, you ſe your fare. If ye wil beleue and acknoweledge your ſynnes, you ſhall come to ye bleſſed communion of the bitter paſſion of Chriſt, worthily, and ſo attayne to euerlaſtynge lyfe, to the whiche the father of heauen bringe you and me. Amen.'

Seven Sermons before Edward VI.

* Editions not seen.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

I. *As a separate publication.*

1. 1549 London. 2 vols. 12mo. *Editiones principes.* These sermons were originally *printed* in two separate small volumes. The first sermon alone, of which see the title on the opposite page and the Imprint at *p* 44: and the other six sermons together, with a somewhat misleading title, as at *p* 45; the address to his second volume being dated 21 June [1549], *p* 54. Whether these two works were separately *published* I do not know. It is possible that the first may have been issued in advance; as an instalment towards satisfying the readers' patience. In all subsequent editions in 4to, the seven sermons are treated as one series.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. *As a separate publication.*

5. 1 Feb. 1869. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints:* see title at page 1.

II. *With other works.*

2. *1562. London. 27 Sermons preached by . . . . Maister Hugh Latimer. 1 Hys sermon Ad Clerum. 2 Hys fourth sermon on the Plough. 3 Hys 7 sermons before Kyng Edward. AMES *Typ. Ant.* iv. 94. Ed. 1819.

3. 1571. London. 1 vol. 4to. Frvteful Sermons preached by the Right reuerend father, and constant Martyr of Iesus Christ. M. Hugh Latymer &c. Printed by JOHN DAY.

4. 1575. London 1 vol. 4to. The edition of 1571; with a fresh title-page dated 1575, and a new imprint dated 1571.

5. 1578. London. 1 vol. 4to. The same title as No. 3. Printed by JOHN DAY.

6. 1584. London. 1 vol. 4to. The same title as No. 3. Printed by JOHN DAY.

7. 1596. London. 1 vol. 4to. The same title as No. 3. Reprinted by *Valentine Sims.*

8. 1635. London. 1 vol. 4to. The same title as No. 3. Printed by *Thomas Coates* for the Companie of STATIONERS.

9. 1758. London. 2 vols. 8vo. The Sermons of . . . . Maister Hugh Latimer. The present seven sermons are in vol. i.

10. 1788. London. 2 vols. 8vo. Sermons on various subjects by Hugh Latimer. The present sermons are in vol. i.

12. 1824. London. 2 vols. 8vo. The Sermons . . . . of Hugh Latimer &c Ed. by JOHN WATKINS LL.D. The present sermons are in vol. i.

13. 1830. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *British Reformers.* Select sermons and Letters of Dr. Hugh Latimer. Includes the seventh of the present sermons only.

14. 1845. Cambridge. 2 vols. 8vo. *Parker Society.* The works of Hugh Latimer &c. Ed. by G. E. CORRIE, B.D. The present sermons are in vol. i.

III. *Abridgments, Extracts, &c.*

11. 1808. London. 2 vols. 8vo. The Fathers of the English Church. Ed. by Rev. LEGH RICHMOND. The seventh sermon is in vol. ii. 419—445, and Extracts from second and fourth at *pp* 650—655.

¶ The fyrste Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer, whiche he preached before the Kynges Maiest. wythin his graces palayce at Westmynster M. D. XLIX. the viii. of Marche.

(,',)

Cum gratia et Priuilegio ad imprimendum ſolum.

¶ To the ryghte ver=

tuous and gracious Lady Katheryn
Doucheſſe of Suffolk, Thomas
Some, her humble and faith
ful Oratour, wyſheth
Godly fauour
and euerla-
ſting ſal-
uation from God the father
through Ieſus Chriſt our
mercyfull Lorde.

WHan man is borne for man, that one to another ſhould be a God, and not a deuyl, an helper, no hynderer, vnto whom alſo ye vſe of the tonge is only geuen. wherby they do both expreſſe and ſhewe the affections of their mindes, there is no man which can ſay, I haue no nede of any man.

☞ But amonges infinite miſchiefes and euyls of mans pouertie and anguyſh, by which he hath nede of other mens helpe, is the inſtruction of prudence or vertue and of ſcience. For mankynde in this do pre[ex]cel chiefli brute beaſtes becauſe thei helpe one another by mutual communication.

In learnying good and vertuous maners, the vſe of commonyng is required chiefly, that men erryng and ignoraunte ſhould be taught, for there is none which ſhall euer lerne of hym ſelfe, all thoughe he be neuer ſo happily borne.

Therfore, it ſhal become euery man, which do intende to lyue godly, to here and learne godly bookes, to prynte heauenly documentes in their hertes. For as euyll doctrine, deuilyſh bokes, and fylthye talke do corrupt good maners, ſo faithful preceptes, godly bokes, *chaſt commonynge* and honeſt ſhal edifie, and confirme.

Wherfore, intending to do good vnto al men and namely vnto ſuch, as erre and be ignorant, I haue gathered, writ, and brought into lyght the famous fryday ſermons of Mayſter Hugh Latimer, which he preached in Lente laſt paſt, before oure moſt noble King Edward the ſyxt, at the new Palaice of Weſtminſter, the third yeare of hys reigne. Whiche Sermons (moſt vertuous Lady) I dedicate vnto your honorable grace, nothyng doubtyng but yat you wyl gladly imbrace them, not onlye becauſe of their excellencie, but chiefly for the profyte whych ſhall enſue thorough them vnto the ignorante.

For in them are frutefull and godlye documentes, directing ordinatly not only the ſteps, conuerſacyon, and lyuing of kynges: but alſo of other mynifters and ſubiectes vnder him. And let no man be greued though it be not ſo exactlye done as he did ſpeake it, for in very dede I am not able ſo to do, to write word for word as he dyd ſpeake, yat paſſeth my capacyte thoughe I had. xx. mens wittes, and no fewer handes to wryte with all. As it is vnpoſſyble that a litel ryuer ſhould receiue ye recourſe of ye mayne ſea with in his brymmes, ſo yat no water ſhould ouer whelme the ſides therof. In lyke manner is it more vnlyke my ſymple witte to comprehende abſolutly the abundante eloquence and learnyng which floweth moſt abundantly out of godly Latymers mouth.

Notwithſtandyng, yet had I rather with ſhamefaſtnes declare charitably thys parte of his godly documentes. and counſel, then wyth ſlowthfulnes forget or kepe cloſe ſoliſhly, that thyng which may profete many.

Who is that wyl not be glad to heare and beleue the doctryne of godly Latymer? Whome God hath appoynted a prophet, vnto our moſt noble Kyng, and vnto our Realme of England, to declare the meſſage of the lyuynge God, to ſupplante and rote out al ſinnes and vice, to plante and graffe in mens hartes the plenteouſnes of al ſpiritual bliſſynges in Ieſus Chryſt our Lorde?

Moſes, Ieremyas, Helias, did neuer declare ye true meſſage of god vnto their rulers and people, wyth a more ſyncere ſpirite, faythful mynde and godly zeale, then godlye Latymer doth now in oure daies vnto our moſt noble Kyng and vnto the whole realme. Furthermore, alſo Ioſia receyued neuer the boke of gods wyl at the handes of Helkia the hye preſt, or ye admonicion of Hulda ye propheteſſe, with a more perfect and godly feare, then our moſt noble King dothe moſt faithfully, geue credyte vnto the wordes of good father Latimer. And I haue no doubt but al godly men wil lykewiſe receiue gladly his godly Sermons and geue credit vnto the ſame. Therfore this my rude laboure of another mans ſwet (moſt vertuous lady) I offer moſt humbli vnto iour grace, mouid there vnto of godli zeale, thorough the godly fame, that is diſperſt vnyuerſally of your moſt godly diſpoſicion, and vnfayned loue towards the lyuynge, almyghte, eternall God and hys holye word, practyſed dayly both in your graces moſt vertuous behauour, and alſo godly charitie towards the edification of euery membre graffed in Chryſte Ieſu, moſt humbly deſiring your grace to accept fauorably thys my temerous interpriſe. And I your moſt humble and faythful Oratour ſhall praye vnto Iehouah, the God which is of him ſelf, by whom, and in whome, all thyngs lyue, moue, and be, that, that good worke whych he hatn begonne in you he may performe it vnto your laſt endynge, thorough our Lorde Ieſu Chryſt, who preſerue and kepe your grace now and euer. So be it.

¶ The argument of the Sermon.

IN this fryſt Sermon is declared, and taught the godlye election of a Kyng, and a rule of godly lyuynge as touchynge hys owne perſon. Where he proueth oure mooſt excellent King Edward, to be our moſt lawful king both by natiuitie, and contry, yea, and now appoynted in theſe our dayes to delyuer vs from the daunger and captiuitie of Egypt and wicked Pharao, that is from, errour and ignorance and the deueliſhe antichriſt the Pope of Rome. The forme of his godly rule alſo he deuyded here in this ſermon in thre partes. Fyrſt that he ſhuld not truſte to muche vnto his owne ſtrength and policy, but only to walke ordinatly with God and to make him his lodes man and chief guyde. Secondarily that he lyue not laſſyuyouſly and wantonly, folowyng venerial affections, but to lyue chaſtly. And whan time ſhal require, to leade a pure lyfe, vnder the yoke of matrimonye, admoniſhing both his grace, and al other Maieſtrates to be circumſpecte in choſynge a wyfe, eyther for them ſelues or for theyr children, hauing this alwaies in minde, that ſhe be, of a faythfull houſe, godlye broght vp, and of a pure life. Thirdly he admonyſhed the kynges grace, that he ſhould not deſyre gold and ſyluer to muche, prouynge by many argumentes that kynd of vice wyth the other forſaid, to be deſtruction not only vnto the kynges grace: but alſo vnto the whole realme and people. In theſe thinges conſyſtith the whole ſumme of this ſermon.

[The equivalent paſſages in the authorized Engliſh verſion, of the Latin quotations of Scripture, are given in the footnotes.]

Of M. Latimer.

*Væcunque ſcripta ſunt: ad noſtram doctrinam ſcripta ſunt.** What ſoeuer thynges are written a fore tyme, are wrytten for our learnynge, that we through pacience and comforte of ſcripturs, might haue hope. In takynge thys parte of ſcripture (moſt nobill audience) I playe as a trowant, which when he is at ſchole, wyl choſe a leſſon, wherin he is perfight, becauſe he is loth to take payne in ſtudienge a newe leaſſon, or elles feareth ſtrypes for his ſlothfulnes. In lyke maner, I might ſeme now in my olde age to ſum men, to take this parte of ſcripture, becauſe I woulde wade eaſilye awaye there wyth, and dryue my matter at my pleaſure and not to be bounde vnto a certayne theame. But ye ſhall conſyder, yat the forſayd words of Paul are not to be vnderſtande of all ſcriptures, but only of thoſe, which are of god, written in goddes boke, and all thynges whiche are therein, are wrytten for our learnynge, The ex[c]ellencye of thys worde is ſo greate, and of hye dignitie, that there is no earthly thynge to be compared vnto it The authour therof is great that is God him ſelfe, eternal, almightie, euerlaſtynge. The ſcripture becauſe of hym, is alſo greate, eternal, moſte mightie, and holy. Ther is no kyng, Emperour, maieſtrate, and ruler, of what ſtate ſo euer they be, but are bounde to obey this God, and to geue credence vnto hys holy worde in directynge their ſteppes ordinatlye accordyng vnto the ſame word, yea truly they are not only bound to obey

Rom. xv. a.

Paul speketh of gods worde only.

Gen. i. a. and xvij. a. Deut. iiij. a. Isa. xxvi. a. Prou. viij. c. Daniel vij. c.

Al men ought to obay god, to beleue hys word, and to folowe it.

* Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.—Rom. xv. 4.

gods boke, but alſo the miniſter of the ſame, for the wordes ſake, ſo fer as he ſpeaketh ſyttynge in moſes chayre. that is, if hys doctryne be taken out of Moyſes lawe. For in thys world God hath. ii. ſwerdes the one is a temporal ſwerde the other a ſpiritual, The temporall ſwerde reſteth in the handes of kynges, maieſtrates, and rulers vnder hym, where vnto al ſubiectes, as wel the Cleargy as the laite be ſubiect, and puniſheable, for anye offence contarye to the ſame boke.

God ruleth this world with two swerdes.

The temporal swerde.

The ſpirituall ſwerde is in the handes of the miniſters and preachers, wher vnto all Kynges, Maieſtrates, Rulers oug[h]te to be obediente, that is, to here, and folowe, ſo longe as the miniſters ſyt in Chriſtes chayre, that is ſpeakynge out of Chriſtes boke.

The spiritual swerde.

Math. xxiij.

The kynge correctyth tranſgreſſours wyth the temporall ſwerd ye and the preacher alſo yf he be an offender, But the preacher can not correct the Kynge if he be a tranſgreſſor of goddes word, wyth the temporal ſwerde But he muſte correcte and reproue him wyth the ſpyrytuall ſwerde, fearynge no man, ſettinge God only before hys eyes, vnder whom he his a miniſter to ſupplante and roote vp all vice and myſchyefe by Goddes worde, where vnto all menne oughte to bee obedyente, as is mencyoned in many places of ſcripture, and amonges many thys is one.

Math. xxiij. a.

¶ *Quæcunque iuſſerint vos ſeruare, ſeruate, et facite.** What ſo euer they byd you obſerue, that obſerue and doo Therefore let ye preacher teach, improue, amende, an[d] inſtructe in rightweſnes, wyth the ſpyrytuall ſwearde, fearynge no man though death ſhoulde inſue Thus Moyſes fearynge no man wyth thys ſwerde, dyd reproue Kyng Pharao, at Goddes commandement.

i. Timo. iij. a. ii. Petr. i. a.

Exod. v. vi. vii. etc.

Micheas the prophet alſo dyd not ſpare to blame King Achab for hys wyckednes, accordinge

iij. Reg. xxij.

* All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, *that* observe and do.—Matt. xxiii. 3.

to goddes wil and to propheſye of his deſtruction contrary vnto manye falſe prophetes.* Theſe forſayde kynges beinge admoniſhed by the miniſters of gods worde, becauſe they woulde not folow their godly doctryne and correcte their lyues, came vnto vtter deſtrucion. Pharao geuynge no credit vnto Moyſes the prophet of God, but applyant vnto the luſtes of his owne herte, what tyme he hard of the paſſage of Goddes people, hauyng no feare or remembraunce of gods worke, he did proſecute after entendyng to deſtroye them and was drowned in ye red ſea. Kynge Acab alſo becauſe he wold not herken vnto Micheas was kilde with an arrowe. Likewiſe alſo the houſe of Iereboam with other many, came vnto deſtruction, becauſe he woulde not heare the miniſters of Goddes worde, and correcte hys lyfe accordyng vnto his wyl, and pleaſure. Let the preacher therefore neuer feare to declare the meſſage of God vnto all men. And if the king wyll not heare them then the preachers may admonyſhe and charge them wyth their dewties, and ſo leaue them vnto God and praye for them. But if the preachers digreſſe out of Chriſtes chaire, and ſhal ſpeake their owne phantaſyes, then in ſtede of, *Quæcunque iuſſerint vos facere, facite, et ſeruate.* What ſo euer the[y] byd you obſerue that obſerue and do. Change it into theſe wordes folowynge: *Cauete vero vobis a pſeudo Prophetis qui veniunt ad vos etc.*† Be ware of falſe Prophetes which come vnto you in ſhepes clothing, but inwardly, they are rauenyng woulffes, ye ſhall knowe them by their frutes: Yea, change *Quæcunque iuſſerint*, (yf their doctryne be euel) into *Cauete a fermento phariſeorum, etc.*‡ That is: Take

Kyng Pharo punyshed. — Exod. xiiij

Acab. iij. Reg. xxi. — iij. Reg. xiiij.

The preacher must haue God before his eyes chefly.

Euell preachers are to be refused, and not to be beleued.

Math. vii. g. — Luke. xij. a.

* Ahab.—1 Kings xxii.

† Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but *inwardly they are* ravening wolves.—Matt. vii. 15.

‡ Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees.—Matt. xvi. 6.

hede and beware of the, leauen of the Phariſeis, and of the Saduces. In teaching euel doctryne, all preachers are to be eſchewed, and in no wyſe to be harkened vnto. In ſpeakyng trueth: thei are to be hard. All thynges wrytten in goddes boke, are mooſt certayne true, and profitable for all men. For in it, is contayned mete matter for Kynges, Prynces, Rulers, Byſhops, and for alle ſtates. Wherfore, it behoueth euerye preacher, ſum what to appoynt and accomodate hym ſelfe, and hys matter a greeable vnto the comforte, and amendemente of the audience, vnto the which he declareth the meſſage of God. If he preache before a kyng, let hys matter be concernynge the offyce of a kinge, if before a byſhoppe, then lette hym treate of byſhoplye dutyes and orders, and ſo forthe in other matters, as time and audience ſhal require.

In gods boke is matter for all estatis.

I haue thoughte it good, to intreate vpon theſe wordes ſolowynge whyche are wrytten in the. xvii. Chapter of Deuteronomye. *Cum ueneris in terram quam Dominus Deus dat tibi poſſederiſque eam.* Deut. xvii. *& cætera.** That is. When thou arte come vnto the Lande whiche the Lorde thy God geueth the, and enioyeſte it, and dwelleſte therin: If thou ſhalt ſay, I wil ſet a kynge ouer me: lyke vnto al the nacions that are aboute me: Then thou ſhalt make him kynge ouer the, whome the Lorde thy God ſhall choſe.

One of thy brethren muſte thou make Kynge ouer the, and mayſte not ſet a ſtranger ouer the, whiche is not of thy brethren. But in any wyſe, let him not holde to manye horſſes, that he bringe not the people

* When thou art come unto the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that *are* about me;

Thou shalt in any wise set *him* king over thee, whom the LORD thy God shall choose: *one* from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayest *not* set a stranger over thee, *which is not* thy brother.

But he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: forasmuch as the LORD hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way.

Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold.—Deut. xvii. 14—17.

agayne to Egypt, thorowe the multitude of horſſes, for as muche as the Lorde hath ſayd vnto you: ye ſhall hence forth go no more agayne that waye. Alſo he ſhal not haue to many wyues, leſte hys herte turne awaye, neyther ſhall he gether hym ſyluer and gould to much. As in dyuerſe other places of ſcripture is mete matter for al eſtates. So in thys forſayede place is deſcribyd cheyfly the doctryne fyt for a kynge. But who is worthye to vtter thys doctryne before oure moſte noble kynge? Not I God knoweth, whyche am thoroughe age, boethe weake in body and obliuious, vnapte I am, not only becauſe of paynful ſtudy, but alſo for the ſhort warning. Well vnto God I wyll make my mone, who neuer fayled me. *Auxiliator in neceſſitatibus.**

God is my helper in all my neceſſities. To hym alone wyl I make my peticion. To praye vnto ſayntes departed I am not taught, to deſyre like grace of god as they had (right godly it is) or to beleue God to be no leſſe mercyfull vnto vs (beinge faythful) then he was vnto them, greately comfortable it is. Therfore only vnto God let vs lyfte vp our hertes and ſay the Lordes prayer.

Thynges touched moste chiefly in the hole sermon.
i.

Cum veneris, etc.† When thou art come vnto ye land which the lord. etc. Thou ſhalt appoint him king. etc. One of thi brethren muſt thou make king ouer the, and muſt not ſet a ſtraunger ouer ye which is not of thy brethren.

ii. But in any wyſe let not ſuche one prepare vnto him ſelfe many horſes that he bryng not. etc.

iii. Furthermore let hym not prepare vnto hym ſelfe manye wyues, leaſt his herte recede frome God.

iiij. Nor he ſhal not multiply vnto hym ſelfe, to much golde, and ſyluer. As the text doeth ryſe, I wyl touche and go a lyttle in euery place, vntyl I come

* *God is mine helper.*—Ps. liv. 4. † See text on previous page.

vnto to much. I wyl touche al the forſayd thynges, but not to muche. The texte is, when thou ſhalt come into the land. etc.

To haue a kyng the Iſraelites dyd wyth muche importunitye call vnto God, and God longe before promiſed theim a kynge and were full certified thereof, that God hadde promiſed that thynge. For vnto Abraham heſayed: *Ego creſcere teſaciam vehementer ponamque te in gentes, ſed et reges ex te prodibunt.** Gen. xvii. a.

That is, I wil multipli the excedingly, and wil make nations of the, yea and kings ſhal ſpring out of the. Theſe wordes were ſpoken long before the chyldren of Iſrael had any king, Notwithſtandyng, yet God preſcrybid vnto them an order, howe the[y] ſhulde choſe their kyng, and what manner a man he ſhoulde be, where he ſaith: whan thou ſhalt come in to the lande, etc. As who ſhould ſay. O ye children of Iſrael I knowe your nature ryght well, whiche is euyl, and inclined vnto al euyls. I know that thou wilt choſe a kyng to raygne ouer the and to apere glorious in the face of the world, after the manner of gentyles, But becauſe thou art ſtiffe necked, wilde, and art geuen to walke without a brydell, and lyne. Therfore now I wyll preuente thy euyl and beſtly manners I will hedge ſtrongly thy waye, I wyll make a durable lawe, whyche ſhal compell the to walke ordinatlye, and in a plain way, that is thou ſhalt not choſe the a kynge after thy wyll and fantayſe but after me thy Lord and God. Thus, god condycioned wyth the Iewes, that theyr king ſhould be ſuche a one as he hym ſelf wold choſe them. And was not much vnlyke [t]he bargayne that I herd of late ſhulde be betwixte two fryndes for a horſſe, the owner promyſed the other ſhuld haue the horſſe yf he wold, the other axed ye price, he ſayed: xx. nobles The other wold geue hym but iiii. pound: ye owner ſaid he ſhuld not haue hym then, The other claymed the horſſe bycauſe he ſayd, he

A notable fable.

* I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee; and kings shall come out of thee.—Gen. xvii. 6.

ſhoulde haue hym if he wold, Thus thys bargayne became a weſtminſter matter, the lawyers gote twyſe the valure of the horſe, and when all came to all, two fooles made an ende of the matter. Howbeit. the Iſraelites coulde not go to lawe wyth God, for choſynge theyr kynge, for would they, nyl they, theyr kinge ſhold be of his choſynge, leſt they ſhould walke inordinatly, in a deceyuable way, vnto theyr vtter loſſe and deſtruction. For as they ſay commonely *Qui vadit plane, vadit ſane.* that is. He that walketh playnly, walketh ſafely. As the Iewes were ſtyfnecked, and were euer ready to walke inordinatelye, no leſſe are we Englyſhe men geuen to vntowardnes, and inordinate walkynge after oure owne fantaſies and braynes. We wyll walke wythoute the limites of Goddes worde, we wyll choſe a kyng at our owne pleaſure.

A comon sayinge.

i. Reg. xix. a. But let vs learne to frame our lyues after the noble king Dauid whych when he had manye occaſions, geuen of kyng Saul to worke euyl, for euyl, yea, and hauynge manye tymes oportunity to perfourme miſchief and to ſlay king Saule. Neuertheleſſe yet fearyng, would not folowe hys fleſhly affections and walke inordinatelye, wythoute the wyll of Gods worde, whych he confeſſed alwayes to be hys direction, ſayinge. *Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum et lumen ſemitis meis.** Thy worde, O Lorde is a Lanterne vnto my feete, and a lyght vnto my ſteppes. Thus hauynge in mynde, to walke ordinatly he did alwaies auoyde to do euyll. For whan kyng Saul was in a caue without anye man. Dauid and hys men ſytting by the ſydes of the caue, yea and Dauids men mouyng hym to kyl Saul, Dauid made anſwer and ſayd vnto them: *Seruet me dominus, ne rem iſtam. etc. contra dominum meum Meſſiam etc.*† That is The Lord kepe

i. Reg. xxiiij. a. Red ye stories they be verye pleasaunt and profytable.

Psal. cxviiij. v. Gods worde is oure lyght.

Dauid dyd walke ordynatly.

* Thy word *is* a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.—Psa. cxix. 105.

† The LORD forbid that I should do this thing unto my master, the LORD's anointed.—1 Sam. xxiv. 6.

me from doyng this thing vnto my maiſter yat is the lordes anointed. At another tyme alſo, moued by Abiſay to kyl Saul ſleping, Dauid ſaid: *Ne interficias eum, quis enim impune manum ſuum inferret* i. Reg. xxvi. b. *vnćto domino etc.** That is: Deſtroye hym not, for who can laye hys handes on the Lordes anoynted and be gyltleſſe. etc. I wold God we wolde folowe King Dauid, and then we ſhuld walke ordinatly, and yet do but yat we are bounde of dutye to do, for God ſayth: *Quod ego præcipio, hoc tantum facito.*†

Phantastical brayns are reproued inordinatly.

That thing which I commande that only do. There is a greate errour riſen now a daies among many of vs, which are vayne and new fangled men clymbyng beyond the lymites of our capacitye and wytte, in wrenching thys text of ſcrypture, hereafter folowyng, after their owne phantaſie and brayne, their erroure is vpon this text: *Audi vocem populi in omnibus quæ* i. Reg. viij. *dicunt tibi, non enim te reprobant ſed me reprobarunt ne regnem ſuper eos.*‡

That is: Heare the voyce of the people in all that they ſay vnto the, for they haue not caſte the a way but me. Thei wrench theſe wordes a wrye after their owne fantaſies, and make much doubte as touchynge a kynge, and hys Godlye name. They that ſo do walketh inordinatly, they walk not direćtely and playnly, but delite in balkes, and ſtubble way.

God calleth his ministers by dyuerse names.

It maketh no matter by what name the rulers be named, if ſo be they ſhall walke ordinately with god, and direćt their ſteps with god. For both patriarkes Iudges, and kynges, had, and haue their authorytie of God, and therfore Godli. But this ought to be conſidered which God ſaieth. *Non præficere tibi poteſt hominem alienum.*§ that is. Thou muſt not ſet a ſtraunger ouer the.

* Destroy him not: for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?—1 Sam. xxvi. 9.

† What thing soever I command you, observe to do it.—Deut. xii. 32.

‡ Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.—1 Sam. viii. 7.

§ Deut. xvii. 15: see text at p. 25.

Kyng Edw. ye vi. is our naturall kynge and a moſt precious treaſure.

It hath pleaſed God to graunt vs a naturall liege kynge and Lorde, of oure owne nation an Englyſh man, one of our owne religion. God hath geuen hym vnto vs, and is a mooſte precious treaſure, and yet mani of vs do deſyre a ſtraunger to be kynge ouer vs. Let vs no more deſyre to be bankers, but lett vs endeuoure to walke ordinatelye and plainely. after the word of God Let vs folow Daniel, let vs not ſeke the death of oure moſte noble and ryghtfull Kynge, oure owne brother, boeth by natyuyty, and Godly relygion. Let vs pray for hys good ſtate, that he may lyue long among vs.

Let vs praye for hys lyfe.

Oh what a plage were it, that a ſtraunge kinge of a ſtraunge land, and of a ſtraung religion ſhould raygne ouer vs. Where nowe we be gouerned in the true relygion. he ſhould extirpe and plucke away all to gether, and then plante agayn all abomynacyon, and popery, GOD kepe ſuche a kynge from vs. Well the kynges grace hath ſyſters, my Ladye Mary, and my Lady Elizabeth, whych by ſucceſſion and courſe are inheritours to the crowne. Who yf they ſhulde mary with ſtraungers, what ſhould enſue GOD knoweth. But god graunt they neuer come vnto courſyng nor ſuccedynge. Therfore to auoyd thys plage, let vs amende oure lyues and put awaye all pryde, whyche dothe drowne men in thys realme at theſe dayes, all couetouſnes where in the magiſtrates and ryche men of thys realme are ouerwhelmed, all lechery and other exceſſyue vyces, prouokynge gods wrath, were he not mercyful, euen to take from vs oure naturall kynge and leyge Lorde, yea, and to plage vs wyth a ſtraunge kynge for oure vnrepentaunte herte. Wherfore (yf as ye ſaye) ye loue the kynge, amende your lyues, and then ye ſhalbe a meane that GOD ſhall lende hym vs longe to raygne ouer vs, for vndowtedlye ſynnes prouoke muche goddes wrath ſcripture ſaith; *Dabo tibi regem in furore meo,**

A ſtranger wold rote out al godlynes and plante agayn al hypocrysy.

They that loue God or the kyng wyl amende theyr ſinful lyuing.

* *I gave thee a king in mine anger.*—Hos. xiii. 11.

That is: I wyll geue a kynge in my wrathe. Now we haue a lawfull kyng, a godly kynge, neuertheles yet many euyls do raygne. Longe tyme the myniſters appoynted, hath ſtudied to amende, and redres al euyles, long time before thys greate laboure hathe bene about this matter, great crakes hath bene made that al ſhoulde be well. But when all came to all for theyr boſtes, lyttle or nothynge was done, in whome theſe words of Horace mai wel be veri- Horacius
fied ſayinge. *Parturiunt montes, naſcitur ridiculus mus.* The mountaines ſwelleth vp, the pore mouſe is brought out, long before thys tyme, many hath taken in hande to brynge manye thynges vnto paſte, but finally theyr worckes came vnto ſmall effect and profyte. Now I here ſay all thinges are ended after a Godly maner, or els ſhortelye ſhall be. Make haſt, make haſt, and let vs learne to conuerte, to repente, and amende our lyues. If we do not, I feare, I feare, [illegible] our ſynnes and vnthankefulnes, an Hipocrit [illegible]gne ouer vs. Long we haue bene [illegible]tes and in bondage, ſeruyng the [illegible] in Egypte. God hath geuen vs a [illegible]rer, a natural kynge. Let vs ſeke no ſtranger [illegible]nother nacion, no hypocrite whiche ſhall brynge in agayne al papiſtrie, hipocricie, and Idolatrye. No diabolicall miniſter whyche ſhall mayntayne all deueliſhe worckes and euyll exerciſes. But let vs pray that God mayntayne and continue oure moſt excellente kynge here preſente, true inheritoure of thys our realme, both by natyuytye, and alſo by the ſpecial gift and ordinaunce of God. He doth vs rectify in the libertie of the goſpel, in that therefore let vs ſtand. *State ergo in libertate, qua Chriſtus nos liberauit.** Stande ye in the libertye, wherwyth Chryſte hath made vs free. In Chryſtes lybertye,

The pope hath longe raigned.

God hath sente vs a delyuerer.

Let vs no more seke to serue a straunger.

Let vs pray for our king.

Gala, v. a.

* Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. —Gal. v. 1.

we ſhall ſtande, If we ſo lyue that we profyte. If we caſt away all euyl, fraude, and deceyte, with ſuch other vices, contrary to Gods word. And in ſo doing we ſhal not onely prolonge and mayntayne our moſt noble kynges dayes in profperitie: but alſo we ſhal profper our owne lyues, to lyue not onelye profperouſly, but alſo godly.

The seconde parte of hys sermon.

In any wyſe, let no ſuche a wone prepare vnto him ſelf manye horſſes. etc. In ſpeakynge theſe wordes, ye ſhal vnderſtand, that I do not entend to ſpeake agaynſte the ſtrengthe, polyſye, and prouiſion of a kyng, but agaynſt exceſſe, and vayne truſte that kynges haue in them ſelues, more then in the liuing god the authour of al goodnes, and geuer of all victory. Many horſes are requiſite for a king, but he maye not excede in them, nor triumphe in them, more then is nedeful, for the neceſſary affayres and defence of the realme: what meaneth it, that god hath to do wyth the kynges ſtable? But only he would be mayſter of hys horſſes, the Scripture ſayeth, *In altis habitat.* He dwelleth on hye, it foloweth. *Humilia reſpicit.** He loketh on lowe thynges, yea, vpon the Kynges ſtables. and vpon al the offyces in hys houſe. God is great grand mayſter of the Kynges houſe, and wil take accoumpt of euery one that beareth rule therin, for the executing of their offices, Whether they haue iuſtly and truely ſerued the kyng in their offices or no. Yea god loketh vpon the kynge hym ſelfe, if he worketh well or not. Euery kyng is ſubiecte vnto God, and all other men are ſubiectes vnto ye king. In a king god requireth faith, not exces of horſſes. Horſſes for a kynge be good and neceſſarye, if thei be wel vſed. But horſſes are not to be preferred aboue pore men. I was ones offendid with the kynges horſes, and therfore toke occaſion to ſpeake in the preſens of the kynges maieſtye that dead is,

Psal. cxij.

God is grand mayster in ye kynges house

* Though the LORD *be* high, yet hath he respect unto the lowly.—Psa. cxxxviii. 6.

whan Abbeis ſtode. Abbeis were ordeyned for the comforte of the pore, Wherfore I ſayde it was not decent that the kings horſſes ſhuld be kept in them (as manye were at that tyme) the lyuynge of poore men therby miniſhed and taken a way: But after ward a certayne noble man ſayd to me, what haſt thou to do with ye kinges horſſes? I anſwered, and ſayd, I ſpeake my conſcience as goddes word directeth me. He ſaid horſſes be ye mayntenaunces and parte of a kynges honoure, and alſo of hys realme, wherefore in ſpeakyng againſte them ye are againſt the kynges honoure. I anſwered. God teacheth what honoure is decente for the kynge and for al other men accordynge vnto their vocations. God apoynteth euery king a ſufficient lyuinge for hys ſtate and degre boeth by landes and other cuſtomes. And it is lawfull for euery kyng to enioye the ſame goodes and poſſeſſyons. But to extorte and take awaye the ryghte of the poore, is agaynſte the honoure of the kinge. And you do moue the kinge to do after that manner, then you ſpeake agaynſte the honoure of the kynge. For I ful certifye you, extorcioners, violent opreſſers, in groſſers of tenamentes and landes, throughe whoſe couetouſnes, villages decaye and fall downe, the kinges leige people for lacke of ſuſtinaunce are faniſhed and decayed. They be thoſe whyche ſpeke a gainſt the honour of the kynge. God requireth in the king and al magiſtrates a good herte, to walke directlye in hys wayes. And in all ſubiectes, an obedience dewe vnto a kynge. Therefore I pray god both the king and alſo we his people maye endeuer diligen[t]ly to walke in his wayes, to hys greate honoure and our profite. Let hym not prepare vnto him ſelfe to many wyues. etc. Al thoughe we reade heare that the kinges amongeſt the Iewes, had libertye to take more wyues then one, we maye not *therfore atempte* to walke in ordinatly

An answer declarynge the true honoure of a kynge.

He describeth ye dyshonors of a kynge playnely and most truelye.

god requireth a good herte.

The. iii. parte of his sermon

Kinges of the Iewes had a dispensacion to haue mo wyues then one.

and to thinke that we may take alſo many wiues.

For Chriſte hath for byden thys vnto vs Chriſtians. And lette vs not impute ſynne vnto the Iewes becauſe they hadde many wyues. For they hadde a diſpenſation ſo to do. Chriſte limiteth on wyfe vnto vs only And it is a greate thynge for a man to rule one wyfe ryghtly, and ordinatly. For a woman is frayll and procliue vnto all euels, a woman is a very weake veſſel, and maye ſone deceyue a man, and brynge hym vnto euell. Many examples we haue in holy ſcripture. Adam had but

On[e] wyfe is hard to be wel ruled.

one wyfe, called Eue, and howe ſone had ſhe brought hym to conſent vnto euell, and to come to deſtruction, How dyd wycked Ieſabell preuente kynge Hachabs herte from god and al godlines, and finally vnto deſtruction. It is a very hard thynge for a man to rule wel one wo-

A godly woman is to be chosen.

man. Therfore let oure kynge, what tyme hys grace ſhalbe ſo mynded to take a wyfe to choſe hym one whych is of god, that is, whyche is of the houſholde of fayth. Yea let all eſtates be no leſſe circumſpect in chooſynge her, takynge great deliberation, and then ſhal not need dyuorſementes, and ſuch myſcheues to the euel exam-

Loue whych is godly is to be preferred aboue al erthlye thinges in maryage.

ple and ſclaunder of our realm, And that ſhe be one as the kyng can fynd in hys hert to loue and leade hys life in pure and chaſte eſpoſage, and then ſhall he be the more prone and redy to aduance gods glorye, puniſhe, and extirpe, the great lecherye vſed in this realme. Therefore we ought to make a continuall prayer vnto god, for to graunt oure kynges grace ſuche a mate as maye knyt hys hert and heres, accordyng to goddes ordynaunce and lawe, and not to conſider and cleaue onely to a politike matter or coniunction, for the enlargynge of dominions, for fuertye and defence of contres, ſettyng apart the inſtitution and ordinaunce of God. We haue nowe a prety

litle ſhilling, in dede a very pretye one. I haue but one I think in my purſſe, and the laſte daye I had put it awaye almoſte for an olde grote, and ſo I truſte ſome wyll take them. The ſynes of the ſiluer I can not ſe. But therin is prynted a fyne ſentence: that is. *Timor Domini fons vitæ vel ſapientiæ.** The feare of the Lorde is the fountayne of lyfe or Wyſdome. I wolde god this ſentence were alwaies printed in the herte of the kyng in choſynge hys wyfe, and in al hys officers. For lyke as the feare of God is *fons ſapientiæ* or *vitæ*, ſo the forgetting of god is *fons ſtulticiæ* the fontayne of foliſhnes or of death, althoughe it be neuer ſo politike, for vpon ſuch politike matters death doth enſue and folowe. All their deuorcementes and other lyke condiciones to the greate diſpleaſure of all myghtye God, whiche euylles I feare me, is much vſed at theſe daies in the mariage of noble mens children, for io[i]ning landes to landes, poſſeſſions, to poſſeſſions, neither the vertuous educacion, nor liuinge being regarded, but in the infancy ſuch mariages be made, to the diſpleaſuer of god and breach of eſpouſals. Let the king therfor choſe vnto him a godly wyfe, wherby he ſhal the better liue chaſt, and in ſo liuyng all godlines ſhal encreaſe and ryghteweſnes be maynteyned. Notwithſtandyng, I knowe here after, ſome wyll come and moue your grace towardes wantonnes and to the inclinacyon of the fleſhe and vayne affections. But I would your grace ſhould beare in memorye, an hyſtorye of a good king called Lewes, that trauelled towardes the holye lande (whiche was a greate matter in thoſe dayes) and by the waye ſyckyned, beynge longe abſente from hys wyfe. And vpon thys matter the phiſitians dyd agre, yat it was for lacke of a woman. And dyd conſulte with the

Notable saying.

Prouer. xvi.

The well of life or wisdom.

Polisi if it be not of God bryngeth death.

A notable hiſtorye of a frensh kyng.

The good counsell of Byshops.

* The fear of the LORD *is* a fountain of life.—PROV. xiv. 27.

biſhops therein, who dyd conclude that becauſe of the diſtance of hys wyfe (beyng in an other contrye) he ſhould take a wenche. Thys good kyng hering their concluſion would not aſſent there vnto, but ſayde, he had rather be ſycke euen vnto death then he wold breake his eſpouſals. Wo worth ſuch conſellers, biſhops, nay rather buſſardes. Neuertheles if the king ſhoulde haue conſented to their concluſyon, and accompliſhed the ſame, yf he had not chanſed well, they wolde haue executed the matter as I haue harde of two yat haue conſulted together, and according to the aduyſe of his friend the one of them wroght where the ſucceſſion was not good.

The other imputed a peſe of reproche to hym for hys ſuch counſell geuen. He excuſed the matter ſayeinge: that he gaue hym none other counſel, but if it had byne hys cauſe he woulde haue done likewiſe. So I thinke the biſhops wolde haue excuſed the matter, yf the king ſhould haue reproued them for their counſell. I do not rede that the King did rebuke them for their councel, but yf he had, I knowe what woulde haue ben their aunſwere. They would haue ſayde, we geue you no worſſe councel, then we wolde haue folowed oure ſelues, yf we had ben in like caſe. Wel ſir, thys Kyng dyd wel, and had the feare of god before hys eyes. He wold not walke in by-walkes, where are many balkes. Amongeſt many balkinges, is much ſtumbling and by ſtombling it chaunceth many tymes to fal downe to the ground. And therfore, let vs not take any biwalkes, but let gods word directe vs, let vs not walke after, nor leane to our owne iudgementes and procedynges of oure forfathers, nor ſeke not what they dyd, but what th[e]y ſhoulde haue done, of which thyng ſcrypture admonyſheth vs ſaying: *Ne inclinemus præceptis et traditionibus patrum neque faciamus quod videtur rectum in oculis noſtris.**

Note.

The kynge fearynge god auoyded euel

Deut. xii. a.

* Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers.—Ezek. xx 18. *Ye shall not* do after all *the things* that we do here this day, every man whatsoever *is* right in his own eyes. —Deut. xii. 8.

Let vs not inclyne our ſelues vnto the preceptes and tradycyons of oure fathers, nor let vs do that ſemeth ryght in our eyes. But ſuerlye, we wyll not exchange oure fathers doynges and tradicions, with ſcripture, but cheiſely lene vnto them and to theyr preſcription, and do that ſemeth good in oure owne eyes. But ſuerly that is goynge downe the ladder, Scala cæli as it was made by the Pope came to be a Maſſe, but that is a falſe ladder to bringe men to heauen. The true ladder to brynge a man to heauen is the knowledge and folowynge of ſcripture. Let the kyng therfore choſe a wyſe whych feareth god, let hym not ſeke a proude, wanton and one ful of rich treaſures and worldelye pompe. He ſhall not multyplye vnto hym ſelfe to muche gold and ſiluer. Is ther to muche thynke you for a kynge? God doeth alowe muche, vnto a kynge, and it is expediente that he ſhould haue muche, for he hath great expenſes, and many occaſions to ſpende muche for the defence and ſuertie of hys realme and ſubiectes.

The. iij. parte of the sermon

A kynge may haue muche, for his expences are great.

And neceſſary it is that a kyng haue a treaſure all wayeys in a redines, for that, and ſuch other affayres, as be dayly in hys handes. The which treaſure, if it be not ſufficiente, he maye lawfully and wyth a ſalue conſcience, take taxis of hys ſubiectes. For it were not mete, the treaſure, ſhoulde be in the ſubiectes purſes whan the money ſhoulde be occupied, nor it were not beſt for themſelues, for the lacke there of, it myght cauſe both it, and all the reſt that they haue ſhold not long be theirs, And ſo for a neceſſarye and expedyent occacion, it is warranted by goddes word to take of the ſubiectes But if there be ſufficyente treaſures, and the burdenynge of ſubiectes be for a vayne thyng. ſo yat he wyl require thus much, or ſo much of his ſubiects, whyche perchaunce are in great neceſſitie, and penurye. Then this couetous intent, and the requeſt thereof, is to muche, *whych god forbiddeth* the king her in this

Note whan the king hath to muche of hys commens.

Who ſhall ſe thys to much

None that be ſeruauntes to the Kynge.

Co(r)poral eyes can not ſe to much.

Spirytuall eyes are to be had, fayeth charytye.

The vnderſtandynge of yt.

If God wyll not graunte to much vnto a kyng much leſſe vnto the ſubiecte.

Who is not fauty in taking to much learne.

Phyſicions Lawiers. Marchantes

Landlordes

place of ſcripture to haue. But who ſe this to much, or tell ye kyng of this much. Thinke you anye of the Kyng preuye chamber? No. For feare of lo of fauer. Shall any of his ſworne chapelins? N Thei bee of the clauſſet and kepe cloſe ſuch matter But the Kynge him ſelfe muſt ſe this t much, and yat ſhal he do by no meane with the corporal eyes: Wherfore, he muſt haue a paier of ſpectacles, whiche ſhall haue two cleare ſyghtes in them, yat is, ye one is fayth, not a feaſonable fayeth, which ſhall laſte but a whyle, but a fayeth, whiche is continuynge in God. The ſeconde cleare ſighte is charitie, whych is feruente towardes hys Chryſten brother. By them two, muſt the Kynge ſe euer whan he hath to muche. But fewe therbe that vſeth theſe ſpectacles, the more is theyr dampnacion, Not wythoute cauſe Chriſoſtome wyth admiracion ſayeth.

Chrysostoms sayinge.

Miror ſi aliquis rectorum poteſt ſaluari.

I maruell if anye ruler can be ſaued. Whyche wordes he ſpeaketh not of an impoſſibilitie, but of a great difficultie For that their charge is maruelous great, and that none aboute them dare ſhew them the truth of the thing how it goth. Wel: then, if God wyl not alowe a king to much. Whither wyl he alowe a ſubiect to much? no, yat he wil not Whether haue any man here in England to much? I doubte moſt riche men haue to muche, for wythout to muche, we can get nothynge. As for example. The Phiſicion. If the pore man be dyſeaſed, he can haue no helpe without to much? and of ye lawier, the pore man can get no counſell, expedicion, nor helpe in his matter, except he geue him to much. At marchandes handes, no ynd of wares can be had, except we geue for it to muche. You landelordes, you rentreifers,

I maye ſaye you ſteplordes, you vnnaturall lordes, you haue for your poſſeſſions yerely to much. For that herebefore went for. xx. or. xl. pound by yere, (which is an honeſt porcion to be had *gratis* in one Lordeſhyp, of a nother mannes ſweat and laboure) now is it let for. l. [fifty] or a. C. [hundred] pound by yeare. Of thys to muche commeth thys monſterous and portentious dearth- is made by man, not with ſtandynge God doeth ſende vs plentifullye the fruites of the earth, mercyfullye, contrarye vnto oure deſertes, Not wythſtandynge to muche, whyche theſe riche menne haue, cauſeth ſuche dearth, that poore menne (whyche liue of theyr laboure) can not wyth the ſweate of their face haue a liuinge, all kinde of victales is ſo deare, pigges, geſe, capons, chickens, egges. etc.

Rentraysers steplordes. Vnnatural Lordes.

Of thys to muche commith all dearthis and ſcarcitie

Theſe thinges with other are ſo vnreſonably enhanſed. And I thinke verely, that if it this continewe, we ſhal at length: be conſtrayned to paye for a pygge a pounde. I wyl tel you my lordes and mayſters, thys is not for the kynges honoure, Yet ſome wyl ſaye, knoweſt thou what belongeth vnto the kinges honoure better then we? I anſwere, that the true honoure of a Kinge, is mooſt perfectly mencioned and painted furth in the ſcriptures, of which, if ye be ignoraunt, for lacke of tyme yat ye cannot reade it, albeit, that your counſaile be neuer ſo politike, yet is it not for the kynges honoure. What his honoure meaneth ye canot tel. It is the kynges honoure yat his ſubiectes bee led in the true religion. That all hys prelates and Cleargie be ſet about their worcke in preching and ſtudieng, and not to be interrupted from their charge. Alſo it is ye honour that the commen wealth be auaunſed, that the dearth of theſe forſaied thynges be prouided for, and the commodities of thys Realme ſo emploied, as it may be to the ſetting his

Note the couetous men.

This to much is not for the kinges honor.

A deſcription of the kynges honour.

Fyrſte in true religion.

ij. a welthy comminaltie.

ſubiectes on worke, and kepyng them from idlenes. And herin reſteth the kinges honour and hys office, So doynge, his accompte before God ſhalbe alowed, and rewarded. Furder more, if the kinges honour (as ſum men ſay) ſtandeth in the great multitude of people. Then theſe graſiers, incloſers, and rentereareres, are hinderers of the kings honour. For wher as haue bene a great meany of houſeholders and inhabitauntes, ther is nowe but a ſhepherd and his dogge, ſo thei hynder the kinges honour moſt of al. My lordes and maiſters, I ſay alſo, that all ſuche procedynges which are agaynſte the Kynges honoure (as I haue a part declared before) and as far as I can perceiue, do intend plainly, to make the yomanry ſlauery and the Cleargye ſhauery. For ſuche worckes are al ſyngular, priuate welth and commoditye. We of the cleargye had to much, but that is taken away. and nowe we haue to litle. But for myne owne part, I haue no cauſe to complaine, for I thanke God and the kyng. I haue ſufficient, and God is my iudge I came not to craue of anye man, any thyng, but I knowe theim that haue to litle. There lyeth. a greate matter by theſe appropriacions, greate reformacions is to be had in them. I knowe wher is a great market Towne with diuers hamelets and inhabitauntes, wher do riſe yereli of their labours to the value of. l. [fifty] pounde, and the vicar that ſerueth (being ſo great a cure) hath but. xii. or. xiiii. markes by yere, ſo that of thys penſion he is not able to by him bokes, nor geue hys neyghboure dryncke, al the great gaine goeth another way. My father was a Yoman, and had no landes of his owne, onlye he had a farme of. iii. or iiii. pound by yere at the vttermoſt, and here vpon he tilled ſo much as kepte halfe a doſen men. He had walke for a hundred ſhepe, and my mother mylked. xxx. kyne, He was able and did find the king a harneſſe, wyth hym ſelfe, and hys

Thyrdly the kynges honoure standeth in the multitude of people.

Thys to much wyl make yomanry slauery, and the shauery, clargy.

Clargy had to muche, but nowe to lytle.

An example of the clargy.

An example of ye yomanry.

horſſe, whyle he came to ye place that he ſhould receyue the kynges wages. I can remembre, yat I buckled hys harnes, when he went vnto Blacke heeath felde. He kept me to ſchole, or elles I had not bene able to haue preached before the kinges maieſtie nowe. He maryed my ſyſters with v. pounde or. xx. nobles a pece, ſo that he broughte them vp in godlines, and feare of God.

He kept hoſpitalitie for his pore neighbours. And ſum almeſſ he gaue to the poore, and all thys did he of the ſayd farme. Wher he that now hath it, paieth. xvi. pounde by yere or more, and is not able to do any thing for his Prynce, for himſelfe, nor for his children, or geue a cup of drincke to the pore. Thus al the enhanſinge and rearing goth to your priuate commoditie and wealth. So that where ye had a ſingle to much, you haue that: and ſyns the ſame, ye haue enhanſed the rente, and ſo haue encreaſed an other to much. So now ye haue doble to muche, whyche is to to much. But let the preacher preach til his tong be worne to the ſtompes, nothing is amended. We haue good ſtatutes made for the commen welth as touching comeners, encloſers, many metinges and Seſſions, but in the end of the matter their commeth nothing forth. Wel, well, thys is one thynge I wyll ſaye vnto you, from whens it commeth I knowe, euen, from the deuill. I knowe his intent in it. For if ye bryng it to paſſe, that the yo manry be not able to put their ſonnes to ſchole (as in dede vniuerſities do wonderouſly decaye all redy) and that they be not able to mary their daughters to the auoidyng of whoredome, I ſay ye plucke ſaluation from the people and vtterly diſtroy the realme. For by yomans ſonnes, the fayth of Chriſt is, and hath bene mayntained chefely. Is this *realme taught by* rich mens ſonnes. No no, reade.

No preaching can healpe thys euel.

Many ſtatutes but ſmale helpe.

The deuell is the auctoure of to muche.

To decaye of learnynge and puritie of lyfe.

Saluacion reſteth in them.

Yomens ſonnes be teachers of god.

the Cronicles ye ſhall fynde ſumtime noble mennes ſonnes, which haue bene vnpreaching byſhoppes and prelates, but ye, ſhall finde none of them learned men. But verilye, they that ſhoulde loke to the redreſſe of theſe thinges, be the greateſt againſt them. In thys realme are a great meany of folkes, and amongeſt many, I knowe but one of tender zeale. at the mocion of his poore tennauntes, hath let downe his landes to the olde rentes for their relieſe. For goddes loue, let not him be a Phenix, let him not be alone, Let hym not be an Hermite cloſed in a wall, ſum good man follow him and do as he geueth example. Surueiers there be, yat gredyly gorge vp their couetouſe, guttes hande makers, I meane (honeſt men I touch not) but al ſuche as ſuruei thei make vp their mouthes but the commens be vtterlye vndone by them. Whoſe bitter cry aſcendyng vp to the eares of the god of Sabaoth, the gredy pyt of hel burning fire (without great repentaunce) do tary and loke for them. A redreſſe God graunt. For ſuerly, ſuerly, but yat ii. thynges do comfort me I wold deſpaire of the redreſſe in theſe maters. One is, that the kinges maieſtie whan he commeth to age: wyll ſe a redreſſe of theſe thinges ſo out of frame. Geuing example by letting doune his owne landes firſt and then enioyne hys ſubiectes to folowe him. The ſecond hope I haue is, I beleue that the general accomptyng daye is at hande, the dreadfull day of iudgement I meane, whiche ſhall make an end of al theſe calamities and miſeries. For as the ſcryptures be *Cum dixerint pax pax*,* When they ſhal ſay peace, peace: *Omnia tuta*, all thynges are ſure: Then is the day at hand, a mery day I ſaye, for al ſuch as do in this worlde ſtudye to ſerue and pleaſe god and continue in his fayth, feare and loue: and a dreadful, horrible day for them that decline from God walking in ther owne wayes, to whom as it is wrytten in the. xxv of

A notable thyng.

Surueiers be handmakers.

The crye of the poore.

* Saying, Peace, peace; when *there* is no peace.—Jer. vi. 14.

Mathew is ſayd: *Ite maledicti in ignem eternum.** Go ye curſſed into euerlaſtynge punyſhment. Wher ſhalbe waylinge and gnaſhing of teeth. But vnto ye other he ſhal ſaye: *Venite benedicti.*† come ye bleſſed chyldren of my father, poſſeſſe ye the kyngdome prepared for you from the beginninge of the worlde, of the which god make vs al partakers. Amen.

The rewarde of wycked men.

The blesse of the godly.

* Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.—Matt. xxv. 41.

† Come, ye blessed of my Father.—ver. 34.

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dwellynge at Aldersgate, and
Wylliam Seres, dwellyng in Peter
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lytle Conduyte in
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¶ Cum gratia et Priuilegio ad
imprimendum solum.

The seconde

Sermon of Master
Hughe Latemer,
whych he prea-
ched before the
Kynges ma-
iestie, within
hys grac-
tes Palayce at
Westminster
ye. xb day of
Marche.
M.ccccc.xlix.

Cum gracia et priuilegio ad
imprimendum solum.

To the Reader.

EVen as in tymes paſt, al men whych were honeſtly bent to the promotinge of vertue and learnynge, found meanes, that the workes of worthye oratours, of famous and renoumed Philoſophers, ſhold be by ye benefit, of publyſhing redemed from the tyrannye of obliuion to the great and hygh profyte of countryes, of common wealthes, of empyres, and of aſſemblies of men: lykewyſe oughte we to fetche our preſydente from thoſe men, and ſuffre no worthi monument to periſh, wherby any good may grow, either to the more godly admyniſtration of polytyke and cyuyl affayres, or elles to the better eſtablyſhyng of chriſtian iudgement. Numa Pompilus, who was inaugured and created king [of] the Romaynes next after Romulus, was far more careful and buſier in groundyng of Idolatrus religion, as vpon rytes, ceremonies, ſacrifices and ſuperſticions, then we are in promotyng of chriſtian religion, to the aduauncement of the glorye, due, to the omnipotent maieſtie of God hymſelfe, who hath reuealed and vttered hys worde vnto vs by hys Prophetes, and laſt of all, by hys onely begotten ſonne Ieſus Chriſt wherby he hath confyrmed our conſciences in a more perfect certentie of the truth, then euer they were before. This Numa inſtituted an Archbyſhop for the preſeruynge of the Commentaries, contaynyng the ſolemnities of their religion wyth manye other appendixes, vnited to the office of the high biſhoppe. What do we? We haue ſuppreſſed. We haue wraſtled with fyre, and ſword, not onely to deface the wrytynges of ſuch learned men as haue paynefully traueiled to publyſh Gods word: but alſo we haue *ſturred euery* ſtone, and ſought al deueliſh deuiſes, to *deteine yat ſame* word of god it ſelfe from his people.

May not we (and not vnwortheli) be accompted far vnder ye Ethenickes, who wrought onely by naturall mocion and anticipations, wythout breathyng and inſpiryng of the holy goſt, if we woulde not (I meane not be equall wyth them) but be farre more zelous in promotyng good learnyng and religion then euer thei were. Thei, when thei had ſuche noble and worthy clearkes (as Socrates, Plato, and Ariſtotle) with al diligence, cauſed ye fruites of thoſe moſt rare and profound wyttes, to be preſerued for their poſteritie, that the eyes of al generations myght enioye the fruicion and vſe of them, thinking that ſuch wonderful vertues ſhuld not be buried in the ſame graue that theyr bodyes were. After ſo manifold and daungerous ſhyp wrackes of religion, as in oure tymes we may well remember, wheras the ambitious and blynde prelates (ſome of wyly wilfulnes, ſome of groſe ignoraunce) ruleth the ſterne and euermore blemiſhed the true knowledge of Goddes worde, and dyd theyr indeuoure to obſcure the ſame wyth their politycke and decente ceremonies and trompery of ſuperſticions, how oft hath religion bene toſt on the ſtormy ſourgis and daungerous rockes of the Romyſhe ſeas? Howe oft hath it bene in ſuch a deſperate ſtate, that the true mynyſters haue bene inforſed (as you woulde ſay) to hoyſe vp ancker (the tackling of the ſhyp beyng broken) and deſtytute of all other helpe and ſuccoures, to geue ouer the rulynge of the ſhyppe to God hymſelfe, who is only able to ſaue, when al the world by mannes reaſon iudgeth it paſt cure. Such O Lorde is thy mercie and ineffable power, what criſten hert yat ſauoureth the glory of God, did not euen lament and bewaile the ſtate of religion, and thought verely the vtter ruine of Chriſtes church to be at hand, ſeing the late martyrdome of thoſe that ſuffered? Yet dideſt thou lord ſturre vp thouſandes out of their aſhes. and what was done of a popyſh polycye to ſuppreſſe and kepe vnder thy truth, that, of al other, dyd moſt ſet *fourth the* ſame. Thou haſt deliuered *Danyel out of* the denne of the liones, and re

hath ſet fourth thy worde abroade. But now countreemen, whom God hath bleſſed by deliuerynge you from the tirranny of the liones and her whelpes, (which went thorow the whole realme ſucckyng the innocent bloude) how vnthanckfull are you vnto God ſo greatlye negleƈtynge ſo ſpecyall a benefyte, fallyng into ſuch a louſenes of lacyuyouſe lyuing as the lyke hath neuer bene hard of hereto fore. Euen as ye are growne to a perfeccion in knowledge, ſo are ye come to a perfeccyon in al miſchyefe. The Heathen, whyche had no other gyde but the law of nature, grauen in the tables of their hart, were neuer ſo poiſoned with the contagion of moſt horryble hereſies, as ſome of vs Chriſtians which are not aſhamed to brag and boſte of the ſpirite. But it is a phanaticke ſpirite, a braincicke ſpirite a ſedicious and a malingnante ſpirite. Chriſt breath his ſpirite vpon you yat ye may rede ye ſcriptur with al humblenes and reuerence, to fetch from thence comforte for youre wounded conſciences, not to make that lyuely fountayne of lyfe to ſerue for the fedynge of your idle braines, to dyſpute more ſubtellye thereby, or elſe by myſunderſtandynge of the ſame to conſciue pernitious and annabaptiſtical opinions. Remember that the ſeruaunte whiche knoweth hys mayſters wyll and doeth it not, ſhalbe beaten wyth many ſtrypes. God is a good God, a mercyful God a father whych beareth muche wyth oure croked nature and vnchriſtian behauiour, and very ſloth to reuenge hys blaſphemie this maintenance of ſo many vnſcripterlye opinions, theſe brablynges and ſciſmaticke contencions wherin a great packe of vs delyte and repoſe our glory, al though as fondly, as eroniouſly, to ye great ſclaunder of the godly learned, and alſo to the hynderaunce of the good ſucceſſe and fre paſſage of the word of God. But as truly as god is God if we repent not ſhortly, his plages and vengaunce are not far of, hys indignacyon and wrathe ſhall be poured from heauen vpon *our vngodlynes.* He is long a commyng but when he *comes he wil paye* whome and (as Lactancius ſayeth)

recompence his long ſufferaunce wyth greuous repuniſh-mentes. The world and the deuel hath bewitched vs that we in our dedes (I feare me to manye of vs) deny God to be God whatſoeuer we pittle pattle with our tonges. Gods word muſt not be talcked of only, for that is not inough. It muſt be expreſſed. Then muſt we as wel liue the worde as talke the worde, or elſe, if good lyfe do not inſue and folow vpon our readynge to the example of other, we myghte as well ſpende that tyme in reading of prophane hyſtories, of cantor-burye tales, or a fit of Roben Hode Let vs ioyne good lyfe wyth our readyng, and yet al wylbe to lytle. Remembre that the worlde and al that is in it, is mere vanitie, and ſhall haue an ende. Thou I ſay, yat thus abuſeſt the gyfte of Godes holy word, and the gratiouſnes of the Kynges maieſtie, which hath lycenſed the to rede the ſame, for the comfort of thyne owne ſoule, for the inſtructing of thi famyly, the education of thy chyldren, and edefiyng of thy neyghbour. Thou that art ſo gorgyouſly apparelled, and feadeth thy corruptible carkaſſe ſo dayntely, thou that purchaſeſt ſo faſt, to the vtter vndoyng of the poore, conſyder wherof thou cameſt, and wherunto thou ſhal returne. Where is then all thy pompe? wher is all thy ruffe of thy glorioufnes become? What wylt thou ſay for thy ſelfe in that horrible daye of iudgment, wher thou ſhalt ſtand naked before God, where the tables of thine owne conſcyence ſhalbe opened and layed before thyne eies to accuſe the. Thou which reyſeſt the rentes ſo gredely as thoughe thou ſhouldeſt neuer haue inough. Thy iudgemente is, throw miſerable mammon, ſo captyuate and blinded, that you canſt not tel when you haſt inough, or what is inough? Truly, a litle is to much for him yat knowes not how to vſe much well. Therfore learne fyrſt the vſe of monei and riches, and ſome other honeſter meanes to attayne them, that thys thyne inſaciable couetouſnes and vnlawful deſyryng of other mens goodes, *maye be reduced* to ſome reaſonable meaſure,

and that it do not excede the lymyttes or compaſſe of honeſtie, and the bondes of brotherly loue, leſt God (before whom thou ſhalt appere one day, to rendre a ſtrayght accomptes, for the dedes done in thy fleſh) burden and charge the wyth thy vnmerciful handlyng of thy Tennant (but yet notwythſtandyng thy brother) whom, wyth newe Incomes, ſynes, inhauncyng of rentes, and ſuch lyke vnreaſonable exactions, thou pilles, polles, and miſerablie oppreſſes. When that terrible day ſhall once come, a lytle of Gods mercye wyll be worth a maſſe or a whole h[e]pe of thy monei. Ther thy wicked Mammon, whom thou ſerueſte lyke a ſlaue can purchaſe the no mercy. There thy money ſo gleaned and gathered of the and thyne (to the impoueryſhment of many to make the only ryche) can not preuayle the, nor yet redeme thy cauſe before that iuſte and ſeuere iudge, which then, and ther, wil render to ye, the ſelfe ſame meaſure yat you meaſureſte to other men? What dyd we ſpeake of preuaylyng, or redeming of thy cauſe with monei. Nay then thy monei, and the rouſt of thy gold ſhal be a wytnes againſt ye and ſhal eat thy fleſhe as the fyre. Howe franctycke and folyſhe myght al wyſe men, wel iudge and deme him to be, which agaynſte the daye of hys araignemente (when he ſhould ſtand vpon the tryall of death and lyfe) woulde buſy him ſelf, his folkes, and his frendes, to prepare and get many wytneſſes agaynſte him to caſt him awaye by theyr euidence and witnes: and to prouide ſuche menne as ſhoulde be the onelye cauſe of hys death. Euen. So frantycke, and ſo folyſhe art thou which doth toyle, trauayle, and turmoyle ſo erneſtly and buſylye aboute the gettynge of goodes and rytches, before thou haſt well learned and taken furth of the leſſon, of well vſyng the ſame. Howbeit, truelye I doute much of the well vſyng of yat, whych Prouerb. xix. was neuer well nor truely gotten. Learne therfore firſt, to know what is inough. For the wyſe *man ſayth,* it is better to haue a lytle with the feare

of the Lorde, then great and inſaciable rytches. Sophonye ſaythe their golde ſhall not be able to delyuer them in the day of the Lordes wrath. Sophoni. i. [Zephaniah i. 18.] Let your conuerſacion be without couetouſnes, and be content with that ye haue alredi Godlines is a great ryches, if a man be content wyth ſuche as God ſendes. For we brought nothyng into thys world, neither ſhal we carry anye thyng out. When we haue foode and rayment, let vs therwyth be content. Behold, thy Scholemaſter Paule teaches the here a good leſſon. Here thou mayſt learne wel inough, to know what is inough. But leſt thou ſhouldeſt feare at any time, the want or lacke of thys inoughe. Here farther the reſt of thy leſſon. For god verely ſayth. The Lorde is myne helper, I wyll not fere what man doeth to me. If the Reuenues and yerely Rentes of thy patrymony and landes, be not inough, nor ſufficient for thi fyndyng, and wyl not ſuffice thy charges, then moderate thyne expences, borrow of thy two next neighbours, that is to ſay, of thy backe and thi belly, Learne to eat within thy teather. Pul downe thy ſayle. Saye downe proud hert. Mayntayn no greater port, then thou art able to bear out and ſupport of thyne owne prouiſion. Put thy hand no further then thy ſleue will reache. Cut thy cloth after the meſure. Kepe thy houſe after the ſpendynge. Thou muſt not pil an[d] powle the Tenant, that thou mayeſt haue (as they ſai) *vnde*, and that thy neuer inough to rufful it out in a riatous ruffe and a prodigal, diſolute, and liſencioufe liuing. We rede in the ſcripture, geue to euery manne his dutye, tribute, to whom tribute belongeth, cuſtome to whom Cuſtome, is due. Feare to whom Feare belongeth, honoure to whom honoure partayneth. But we finde not there, nor elles where, fynes to whom fynes, incomes to whome incomes. Paul was not a quainted with none of thoſe termes. Belyke they wer not vſed and commen vp in his time, or elſe he wold haue made mencion of them. Yeat

i. Timoth. vii

i. Hebre. iij.

not withſtandyng, we deny not but theſe reaſonablie required and vpon honeſt couenantes and contractes, are more tollerable, and ſo vſed, ſo maye be permitted. But the couenantes and the contractes we remitte to the godly wyſdome of the hie magiſtrates, who (we pray god) may take ſuch order and direction in this, and al other, yat the commen people may be relyued and eaſed of, many importable charges and iniuries, which many of them, contrary to al equyte and ryght, ſuſtaine. But wo worth this couetouſneſſe, not without ſkylle called the rote of all, euyl. If couetouſnes were not, we thincke many things amiſſe, ſhould ſhortelye be redreſſed. She is a mighty Matrone a Lady of great power. She hath reteyned moo ſeruauntes then any Lady hath in Englande. But marke how well in fyne, She hath rewarded her ſeruantes, and lerne to be wyſe by another mans harme. Acham by the commaunde-
Esai v.
Deutro. xvii. mente of God, was ſtoned to death, becauſe he toke of the excommunicate goodes. Saul moued wyth couetouſnes diſſobeied goddes worde, reſeruinge the King, Agag and a parſſell of the fatteſte of the cattie, and loſt hys kyngdome therby. Gehize was ſtrycken wyth leaproſy and all hys poſteritie, becauſe he toke money and rayment, of Naaman. The rich and vnmerciful gloton, whych fared well and depntely euery day, was buried in hel, and there he taketh nowe ſuch fare as the deuyl hymſelf doth. Woo be to you, that ioyne houſe to houſe, and feelde to feeld, ſhall ye alone inhabyte the yearth. Let theſe terrible examples ſuffyce at thys preaſent, to teach, and admonyſh, the inhaunſer of Rentes, the vnreſonable exactour and gredye requirer of fienes and incomes, the couetouſe leaſe monger, the deuourer of townes and contryes as M. Latimer tearmeth them rightly. If theſe ſcriptures (with yat which thei may rede in theſe godly ſermones) do not pearſe their ſtony hertes (we feare) more wil not ſerue. The Lord be mercyful to them. But *nowe to the* wycked Iudge, which corruptes iuſtyce

for Brybes. Here he may learne alſo the leſſon that Moſes taughte long before thys time, be maieſtrates and Iudges in the common wealth of Iſraell. Be no accepter of perſonnes neyther be deſirous of giftes, for they make wiſe men blinde, and chaunge the mynde of the ryghtuouſe. In iudgement be merciful to the fatherles as a father, and be in ſtead of an huſband vn[to] theyr mother. The vngodly taketh giftes oute of the boſome, to wraſt the wayes of iudgement. Let hym that rules be dylygent ſayth Paul. What meaneth he bi this terme, diligent? He requyres no ſuch diligence as the moſt part of our lucratiue lawyers do vſe, in deferryng and prolongyng of matters, and accions from Terme to Terme, and in the tractynge of tyme in the ſame. Wher perchaunce the tytle or the ryght of the matter myght haue come to lyght, and bene tryed long before. If the Lawyers and the Iudges would haue vſed ſuch diligence as Paule would haue them to do.

Iosue. vii.
i. To the Kinges. xv.
Ecclesiastical xiiij.
Prouer. xvii.

But what care ye lawyers for Paul? Paul was but a mad man of lawe to controlle them for their diligence. Paul, yea and Peter to, coulde better ſkil of mending of an olde net, of clouting of an old tent, then to teach lawiers what dyligence they ſhould vſe in the expedicion, of matters. Whi? but be not lawiers diligent ſay ye? Yea truly are thei and to diligent to for ſome mens profytes. And about their own profit ther are no more diligenter men nor buſier perſons in al England they trudge in ye tearme time to and fro. The[y] applye the world harde. They for ſlow no tyme. Thei follow Siſes and Seſſions, Letes, Lawdays and Hundredes, they ſhold ſerue the kyng, but thei ſerue them ſelues. And howe thei vſe, nay rather abuſe, their office in the ſame, ſome good manne wyll tell theym thereof. We lacke a fewe moo Latymers, a fewe moo ſuche Preachers. Such playn Paſquyls, we pray God prouide for vs, that kepeth nothing backe. *Of the whych* ſort and numbre, we

may moſt worthely recken this faythful myniſter of God, and conſtant Preacher of his word Maſter Hugh Latimer, which by hys perſeueraunce and ſtedfaſtnes in the truth hath ſtablyſhed this waueryng world. He hath bene toſt for the truthes ſake, and tried with the ſtormes of perſecution, as golde in the fornace. He is one, whom, as well for hys learned, ſounde, and chatholyke iudgement, in the knoweledge of Gods worde, as for his integretie and example of chriſtian conuerſation, all we and (ſpecially myniſters and prelates) ought to ſet before our eyes, as a pryncipall patrone to imytate and follow, deſyryng God, who hathe ſtyrred vp in him, the bold ſpirite of Helias, maye dayly more and more augment the ſame in hym, and may alſo prouide many ſuch preaching prelates, which both ſo wel could, and ſo willingly wold franckely vtter ye trueth, to the extollinge of vertue, the rewarde of well doers, the ſuppreſſing of vice, the aboliſhmente of all papeſtrie. It is oure parte therefore to praye diligently for his continual health and that he may liue longe amonge vs in a floriſhinge old aege, and not (as ſome in grate in humaine perſons) to maligne and depraue him for yat he ſo frankely and liberallye taxed perſtringed and openly rebuked before the Kinges Mageſtie ye peculiar fauts of certayne of his auditours, but it is oure part, rather thankefully to accept and in good part take his godly aduertiſment, onles we be mynded to preſer oure muckye monie and falſe felicitie before the ioyſe of heauen, or els beleue (as ye Epecurs do) that after this life ther is neither hel nor heauen. Receiue thankfully (gentle reader theſe ſermons faith fullie colected) without al finiſter ſuſpicion of anye thynge in the ſame added or adempte .·.

Finis.

☞ The. xxi. day of Iune. ☜

☞ . ☜

The seconde sermon

*Quecunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam, etc.** All thinges yat are written in Gods boke, in the holye Byble, they were wrytten before oure tyme, but yet to continue from age to age as long as the worlde doeth stand.

In thys Boke is contayned doctrine for al estates, euen for kynges. A kynge herein maye learne how to gyde hymselfe, I tolde you in my laste sermon muche of the dutye of a kyng. And ther is one place behynd yet, and it foloweth in ye texte. *Postquam autem sederit in solio regni sui, et cete.*† And when the kyng is sette in the seate of hys kyngdome, he shall wryte hym out a boke and take a copy of ye prieſtes or Leuites. He shall haue the boke wyth hym, and why? to reade in it all the dayes of hys lyfe, to learne to feare God, and learne hys Lawes and other thynges, as it foloweth in the texte wyth the appurtenaunces and hangynges on, that he turne not from God, neyther to the ryght hande, nor to the leſte. And wherfore shal he do thys? that he may lyue longe, he and hys children. Hytherto goeth the texte. That I maye declare thys the better to the edifiynge of youre soules and the glory of God, I shall desyre you to praye etc.

Et post[t]quam sederit, etc. Before I enter into thys

* Rom. xv. 4.

† And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of *that which is* before the priests the Levites:

And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he *may learn to* fear the LORD his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them:

That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, *to* the right hand, or *to* the left: to the end that he may prolong *his* days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel.—Deut. xvii. 18—20.

place (right honourable audience) to furnyſh it accordyngly, whych by the grace of god I ſhal do at leyſure, I woulde repete the place I was in laſt, and furnyſhe it wyth a ſtory or two whyche I leſte oute in my laſt ſermon. I was in a matter concerning the ſturdines of the Iewes, a frowarde and ſtyfnecked kynde of people, much lyke oure Englyſhe men nowe a dayes, that in the minoritye of a Kynge, take vpon them to breke lawes and to go by wayes. For when god had promiſed them a kynge, when it came to point they refuſed hym. Theſe men walked by walkes, and the ſayynge is many biwalkes, many balkes, manye balkes muche ſtumblynge, and where muche ſtumblynge is, there is ſometyme a fal, howbeit ther were ſome good walkers among them, that walked in ye kynges highe waye ordinarilye, vprightlye, playne Dunſtable waye, and for thys purpoſe, I woulde ſhewe you an hyſtorye whiche is written in the thyrde of the kynges.*

Kynge Dauid beynge in his chyldhode, an old man, in hys ſecond chyldhode, for al old men are twiſe chyldren, as the Prouerb is. *Senex bis puer.* An olde manne, twyſe a chyld, it happened wyth him, as it doth oftentymes, when wicked men, of a Kinges chyldhode take occaſion of euyl.

Thys Kynge Dauid beyng weake of nature and impotente, in ſo muche that when he was couered with clothes, he coulde take no heate, was counſayled of hys ſeruauntes to take a fayre yonge mayde to nouryſhe hym, and to keepe hym warme in hys bodye. I ſuppoſe ſhe was hys wyfe. Howe be it he hadde no bodilye companie wyth hyr, and wel ſhe myghte be hys wyfe. For thoughe the ſcripture doeth ſaye. *Non cognouit eam.* He knewe hyr not, he had no carnal copulation with hyr yet it ſayeth not. *Non duxit eam Vxorem.* He maried hyr not. And I canne not thynke that king Dauid woulde haue hyr too warme hys boſome in Bedde, excepte ſhee hadde

* 1 Kings, i. and ii. chaps.

bene hys wyfe, hauynge a diſpenſation of God to haue is manye wyues as he woulde. For God had diſbenſed wyth theym to haue manye wyues. Wel, what happened to kyng Dauid in hys childehode, by ye chylde of the deuyll? Ye ſhall heare. Kynge Dauid hadde a proud ſonne, whoſe name was Adonyas, a man ful of ambition, deſyerouſe of honoure, alwayes clymbyng, climbynge. Nowe, whylſe the tyme was of his fathers childhode, he wold depoſe hys father, not knoweyng of hys fathers mynd, ſaiyng. *Ego regnabo.* I wil raigne, I wyll be kyng, he was a ſtoute ſtomaked chyld, a biwalker, of an ambitious mynde, he wold not conſente to hys fathers frendes, but gate hin a charet, and men to runne before it, and dyuerſe other adherentes to helpe hym forwarde, worldelye wiſe men, ſuch as had bene before of hys fathers counſayle, great men in the world, and ſome no doute of it, came of good wil thynkynge no harme, for they woulde not thynke that he did it wythoute hys fathers wyll, hauynge ſuch greate men to ſet hym forth, for euery man cannot haue acceſſe at al tymes to the kynge to knowe hys pleaſure, well: algates he would be Kynge, and makes a great feaſt, and thither he called Ioab the ryngleader of hys fathers armye, a worldly wyſe man, a bywalker, that would not walke the Kynges hye way, and one Abiather the hyghe prieſte. For it is maruayle if any miſchyeſe be in hand, if a prieſt be not at ſome ende of it, they toke hym as Kynge, and cried, *Viuat rex Adonias.* God ſaue kynge Adonias. Dauid ſuffered all thys, and lette hym alone, for he was in hys chyldhode a bedred man.

But ſe howe God ordered the matter, Nathan the Prophete and Sadoc a prieſte, and Banaya, and Crethytes, and Phelethyts the Kyngs gard, they were not called to the feaſt.

Theſe were good men, and woulde not walke bywayes, therefore it was foly to breake the matter to them, they were not called to counſell.

Therefore Nathan when he hearde of thys, he commeth to Bethſabe Salomons mother and ſayeth. Heare ye not howe Adonias the ſonne of Ageth, rayneth kynge, Dauid not knowinge? And he bad hyr put the kynge in mynde of hys oth that he ſware that hyr ſonne Salomon ſhould be kinge after hym, thys was wiſe counſayle accordynge to the Prouerbe. *Qui Vadit plane, uadit ſane.*

He that walketh in the hye playne waye, walketh ſafelye. Vpon thys ſhe wente and brake the matter to Dauid, and deſiered hym to ſhewe who ſhold raynge after hym in Hieruſalem, addinge that if Adonias were kynge, ſhe and hyr ſonne after hys death ſhoulde be deſtroyed, ſaiyng. *Nos erimus peccatores.* We ſhalbe ſinners, we ſhalbe taken for traytors, for though we ment no harme but walked vprightly yet bicauſe we went not the byway with hym, he beynge in authoritie wyl deſtroy vs. And by and by cometh in Nathan, and taketh hyr tale by the ende, and ſheweth him how Adonias was ſaluted kynge and that he hadde byd to diner the Kynges ſeruantes, al ſauyng hym and Sadoc, and Banaia and al hys brethren the kings ſonnes ſaue Salomon. Kynge Dauid remembryng hym ſelfe ſwore, as ſure as God lyueth, Salomon my ſon ſhall raygne after me, and by and by commaunded Nathan and Sadoc and hys garde the Cerethes and Philites, to take Salomon hys ſonne and ſette hym vpon hys mule, and anoynt hym Kyng, and ſo they dyd, criynge, *Viuat Salomon Rex.* Thus was Salomon throned, by the aduiſe and wyl of hys father, and thoughe he were a chylde, yet was his wyl to be obeyed and fulfylled, and they ought to haue knowen hys pleaſure. Whylſe this was a doing there was ſuche a Ioye and outcrye of the people for theyr newe Kynge, and blowynge of trumpetes, yat Ioab and the other company beynge in theyr iolitye, and kepyng good cheare: herde it, and ſodaynlye aſked what is thys ado? And when they perceiued yat *Salomon by* ye aduyſe of hys father was annoynted

Kyng, by and by ther was all whyſht, all theyr good chere was done, and al yat were wyth Adonias wente away, and lette hym raygne alone, if he woulde, and whye? He walked a bywaye and God would not proſpere it.

God wyll not worcke wyth priuate authoritie, nor wyth anye thinge done inordinatlye. When Adonias ſaw this that he was left alone, he toke ſanctuary, and held by the hornes of the aultare and ſware that he woulde not departe thence, tyll Salomon woulde ſweare that he ſhoulde not leaſe hys life. Here is to be noted the notable ſentence, and greate mercy of Kynge Salomon.

Lette hym ſayeth he order hym ſelfe lyke a quiete manne and there ſhall not one heere fall from hys head. *Sed ſi inuentum fuerit malum in eo.**

But if there ſhall be any euyll found in hym if he hath gone aboute anye miſchyefe, he ſhall dye for it. Vpon thys he was broughte into Salomon, and as the boke ſayeth, he dyd homage vnto hym, and Salomon ſayed to hym. *Vade in domum tuam.*†

Gette the into thy houſe, bilyke he meante to warde, and ther to ſe hys wearynge, as if he ſhoulde ſaye, ſhewe thyſelfe wythoute gall of ambition, to be a quiet ſubiecte, and I wyll pardon the for thys tyme. But I wyll ſe the wearynge of the.

Here wee maye ſe the wonderfull great mercye of Salomon for thys notorious treaſon, yat Adonias had committed, it was a plaine matter, for he ſuffered hymſelfe to be called kynge, it hung not of vehement ſuſpition or coniecture nor ſequel or conſequent yet notwythſtandynge Salomon for that preſent, forgaue hym, ſayinge. I wyl not forget it vtterlye, but I wyll kepe it in ſuſpenſe, I wyll take no aduantage of the at thys tyme. This Adonias and Abſolon were brethren, and came boeth of a ſtraung mother, and Abſolon lykewyſe was a traytour, and made an in-

* But if wickedness be found in him, he shall die.—*1 Kings i. 52.*

† Go to thine house.—ver. 53.

ſurrection agaynſt hys father. Beware therefore theſe mothers and let kynges take hede howe they mary, in what houſſes, in what fayeth. For ſtrang bryngyng vp, bringeth ſtraunge maners. Nowe geueth Dauid an exhortation to Salomon, and teacheth him the dutye of a Kynge, and geueth hym a leſſon, as it foloweth at large in ye boke, and he that lyſte to reade it, maye ſe it ther at full. But what doeth Adonias all thys whyle? He muſt yet clymbe agayne, ye gal of ambition was not out of his hert. He wil now mary Abiſaas the yonge quene that warmed king Dauids boſome, as I told you, and commeth me to Berſaba, deſyering hyr to be a meane to Salamon hyr ſonne that he myght obtayne hys purpoſe. And bryngeth me out a couple of lyes at a clappe, and committeth me two vnlawfull actes. For fyrſte he would haue bene Kynge wythoute hys fathers conſente, and now he wyl mary his fathers wife, and the. ii. lyes are theſe. Fyrſte, ſayed he to Berſabe, thou knoweſt that the Kyngedome belongeth to me, for I am the elder. The kyngedome was myne, he lyed falſely it was none of his. Then ſayed he all the eyes of Iſrael were caſte vpon me, that is to ſaye, all Israel conſented to it, and there he lyed falſely. For Nathan, Sadoc, and other wyſe men, neuer agreed to it. Here was a greate enterprice of Adonias, he wyl be climbing ſtyll. Well Berſabe wente at hys requeſte to hyr ſonne Salomon, and aſked a boune, and he graunted hyr what ſo euer ſhe did aſke. Notwithſtanding he brake his promiſe afterward and that right well, for all promiſes are not to be kept, ſpeciallye if they be agaynſte the worde of God. Or not ſtandynge with a commune profit, and therefore as ſone as Salomon heard yat Adonias would haue maryed the yonge quene Abiſaak: naye then let hym be kynge to: ſayed he. I perceyue now that he is a naughty man, a proude herted fellow, the gal of ambition is not yet out of his herte, and ſo commaunded him to be put to death. Thus was *Adonias put* to execution, wher as if he had kepte

hys houſe and not broken hys iniunction, he myght haue lyued ſtil. Abiathar, what became of him. The king (becauſe he had ſerued his father before him) woulde not put him to deth, but made him as it were a quondam. Bicauſe thou haſt bene with mi father ſaied he, and dideſt cary the arke before hym I wyl not kyl the.

But I wyll promyſe the thou ſhalte neuer miniſter anye more. *Vade in agrum tuum?* * Get the to thy lande, and lyue there. A greate matter of pity and compaſſion, ſo God graunt vs al, ſuch mercy. And here was the ende of Elis ſtocke, accordyng to the promiſe and threatening of God. As for the Phelethites we do not read yat they were punyſhed. Mary Semei traunſgreſſed his Iniunction for he kepte not hys houſe, but wente oute of Hieruſalem to ſeke two ſeruauntes of hys yat had runne from hym, and when it came to Salomons eare, it coſte hym hys life. I haue ript the matter nowe to the pyll, and haue tolde you of playne walkers, and of biwalkers, and how a kynge in hys childehode is a kynge, as wel, as in any other age. We reade in ſcripture of ſuche as were but. xii. or. viii. yeares olde, and yet the worde of the holy Gooſte called them kynges, ſayinge. *Cepit Regnare.* He began to raygne, or he began to be kynge. Here is of bywalkers. Thys hyſtorye would be remembred, the Prouerbe is.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

Happy is he that can beware by an other mans ieoperdy. For if we offende not as other do, it is not oure owne deſertes.

If we fal not, it is Goddes preſeruation. We are all offenders For other we maye do, or haue done, or ſhall do (excepte God preſerue vs) as euyll as the worſte of them. I pray God we maye all amende and repente. But we wyll all amende nowe I truſte. We muſtes neades amende our lyues euerye man. The holy communion is at hand, and we may not receyue it vnworthelye.

* *Get thee to Anathoth*, unto thine own fields.—1 Kings ii. 26.

Wel, to returne to my hiſtory. Kynge Dauid I ſay was a kynge in his ſecond childhode And ſo, yonge kynges though they be chyldren, yet are they kynges notwythſtandynge, and thoughe it be wrytten in ſcripture. *Væ tibi O terra ubi puer eſt rex.** Wo to the, O Lande, where ye king is a chylde: if foloweth in an other place. *Beata terra ubi rex nobilis.*† Bleſſed is the Lande, where there is a noble kynge. Where Kynges be no banketers, no players, and they ſpend not the tyme in haukynge and huntynge.

And when hadde the kynges maieſtye a Councell that toke more payne boeth night and day for the ſettynge forthe of Gods word, and profit of the commune wealth. And yet there be ſome wycked people that wyll ſaye.

Tuſhe, thys geare wyll not tarye, it is but my Lorde Protectours, and my Lorde of Canterburies doynge. The Kinge is a child, he knoweth not of it.

Ieſu mercy, how lyke are we Englyſhe men to the Iewes, euer ſtubburne, ſtyfnecked, and walkynge of bye wayes. Yea I thynke no Iewe woulde at any tyme ſaye. This geare wil not tary. I neuer hearde nor read at any time yat they ſayed.

Theſe lawes were made in ſuch a kynges dayes, when he was but a chylde. Let vs alter them. O Lorde what pitye is thys that we ſhoulde be worſſe then the Iewes?

Bleſſed be the lande ſaith the worde of God, wher the Kyng is noble. What people are they that ſaye, The kynge is but a chylde? Haue not wee a noble Kynge? Was there euer Kynge ſo noble? So Godlye? broughte vp wyth ſo noble counſaylours? ſo excellent and well learned Scholemaiſters? I wyll tell you thys, and I ſpeake it euen as I thynke. Hys maieſtye hath more Godlye wytte and vnderſtandyng, more lernynge and knowledge at thys age, then. xx. of hys

* Woe to thee, O land, when thy king *is* a child.—Eccles. x. 16.

† Blessed *art* thou, O land, when thy king *is* the son of nobles.—Eccles. x. 17.

progenitors that I coulde name had at anye tyme of theyr lyfe.

I tolde you in my laſte ſermon of miniſters of the kinges people and had occation to ſhewe you howe few noble men were good preachers, and I left out an hyſtory then whyche I wyl nowe tell you.

There was a byſhop of Wincheſter in Kyng Henry the. vi. dayes, whyche kynge was but a chylde, and yet were there manye good Actes made in hys childehode, and I do not read that they were broken.

Thys byſhoppe was a great man borne, and did beare ſuch a ſtroke, that he was able to ſhoulder the Lord Protectour. Well, it channced yat the Lorde Protectoure and he fell out, and the byſhoppe would beare nothynge at all wyth hym, but played me the *Satrapa*, ſo that the regente of Fraunce was faine to be ſent for from beyond the Seas to ſet theim at one, and to go betwene them.

For the byſhoppe was as able and readye to buccle wyth the Lorde Protectoure, as he was wyth hym.

Was not this a good prelate? he ſhould haue bene at home a preachynge in hys Dioces in a wanian. Thys Protector was ſo noble and Godly a man, that he was called of euerye man the good Duke Humfrey. He kept ſuche a houſſe as neuer was kept ſence in Englande, wythout any enhaunſyng of rentes I warrant you, or any ſuch matter. And the byſhop for ſtanding ſo ſtyflye by the matter, and bearynge vp the order of our mother ye holie church, was made Cardinall at Calice, and thyther the byſhop of Rome ſent hym a cardinals hatte, he ſhold haue had a Tiburne tippet, a halpeny halter, and all ſuche proude prelates. Theſe Romiſh hertes [hats?] neuer broughte good into Englande.

Vpon thys the biſhop goeth me to the quene Katherin the kinges wife, a proud woman and a ſtout, and perſwaded hir that if ye duke were in ſuch authoritie ſtyl, and lyued, ye people wold honor him more then they dyd the king. And ye king ſhould

not be ſet by, and ſo betwen them, I can not tel how it came to pas, but at S. Edmundes bury in a parliment the good Duke Humfrey was ſmothered.

But nowe to returne to my texte, and to make further rehearſall of ye ſame, the matter beginneth this. *Et poſ[t]quam ſederit rex** And when the kyng is ſette in the ſeate of hys Kyngedome, what ſhal he do? ſhal he daunce, and dally, banket? hauke and hunte? No forſothe ſyr. For as God ſet an order in the Kyngs ſtable as I tolde you in my laſt Sermon, so wyll he appoynte what paſtyme a Kynge ſhall haue. What muſt he do then? He muſte be a ſtudient. He muſt wryte Goddes boke hym ſelfe. Not thynkynge bycauſe he is a kynge, he hath lycence to do what he wyl, as theſe worldlye flatterers are wont to ſay. Yea, trouble not your ſelf ſir, ye mai hauke and hunt, and take youre pleaſure. As for the guydinge of your kyngdome and people, let vs alone wyth it.

Theſe flattering clawbackes are originall rotes of all miſchyue, and yet a Kynge maye take hys paſtyme in haukinge or huntynge or ſuch lyke pleaſures. But he muſte vſe them for recreation when he is wery of waighty affayres, that he mai returne to them the more luſtye. and this is called paſtime with good companye. He muſt write out a boke hym ſelfe. He ſpeaketh of wrytynge bicauſe printynge was not vſed at yat tyme.

And ſhall the Kynge wryte it out hym ſelfe? He meaneth he 'ſhall ſe it wrytten, and rather then he 'ſhoulde be wythout it, wryte it hym ſelfe.'

Ieſus mercy, is God ſo chary wyth a kynge to haue hym wel brought vp and inſtructed? Yea forſoth. For if the kyng be well ordered, the realme is wel ordered. Where ſhall he haue a copy of thys boke? of the Leuits. And why? Bicauſe it ſhal be a true copye, not falſifyed.

Moyſes lefte the boke in an olde cheſte, and the Leuites had it in kepyng. And bycauſe ther ſhould

* *And . . . when he sitteth, &c.*—Deut xvii. 18; see text at p. 55.

be no errour, no addition, nor takynge away from it, he byddeth hym fetch the copy of the Leuites. And was not here a greate miracle of God, how this boke was preſerued? It had layne hyd many yeres and the Iewes knew not of it.

Therefore at lengthe when they had found it and knew it: they lamented for theyr ignoraunce, that had ſo long bene wythoute it, and rente theyr clothes, repentyng theyr vnfaythfulnes, and ſo ye holye byble Goddes boke, that we haue among vs, it hathe bene preſerued hytherto by a wonderful miracle of God (though the kepers of it were neuer ſo malitiouſe) firſte euer ſythe the byſhop of Rome was firſte in authoritye, they haue gone about to deſtroy it, but God worketh wonderfully, he hathe preſerued it maugre theyr beardes, and yet are we vnthankefull that we cannot conſider it. I wil tel you, what a byſhoppe of thys realme ſayed once to me, he ſent for me and merueyled that I woulde not conſente to ſuche traditions, as were then ſette out.

And I anſwered hym that I woulde be ruled by Gods boke and rather then I woulde diſſent one iote from it I woulde be torne wyth wylde horſſes.

And I chaunced in our communication to name the Lordes ſupper? Tuſhe ſayeth the Byſhop. What do ye call the Lordes ſupper? What newe terme is that? There ſtode by hym a dubber, one Doctour Dubber he dubbed hym by and by and ſayed that this terme was ſeldome rede in the doctours.

And I made anſwer, yat I wold rather folowe Paule in vſyng hys termes then them though they hadde all the doctours on theyr ſyde. Whye ſayed the byſhoppe, can not we wythoute ſcriptures order ye people? How dyd they before the ſcripture was fyrſte wrytten and copied out? But God knoweth, ful yl. yet woulde they haue ordered theim. For ſeyng that hauyng it, they haue deceyued vs in what caſe ſhold we haue bene nowe wythout it? But thankes be to God yat by ſo wonderful a miracle he hathe preſerued ye boke

ſtyll. It foloweth in the texte *Habebit ſecum etc.** He ſhal haue it with hym in hys progreſſe, he muſte haue a man to carry it, that when he is haukynge and huntyng or in any paſtime, he maye alwayes commune with them of it. He ſhall reade in it not once a yeare, for a tyme, or for hys recreation when he is weary of haukyng or hunting but *Cunctis diebus vitæ ſuæ.*† All ye dayes of hys lyfe. Where are thoſe worldlynges now? Theſe bledder puffed vp wylye men? Wo worth them that euer they were about any Kynge. But howe ſhall he read thys boke? as the Homilies are read. Some call theym homlyes, and in dede ſo they maye be well called, for they are homely handeled.

For though the prieſtes reade theym neuer ſo well, yet if the Paryſhe like them not, ther is ſuche talkynge and bablynge in the churche, that nothynge can be heard, and if the pariſh be good, and the prieſt naught he wil ſo hacke it, and choppe it, that it were as good for theym to be wythout it for any worde that ſhal be vnderſtande. And yet the more pitye. Thys is ſuffred of your graces byſhops in theyr dioces vnpuniſhed.

But I wyll be a ſuter to youre grace that ye wyll geue youre byſhoppes charge yer they go home, vpon theyr allegiaunce to loke better to theyr flocke, and to ſe your maieſties iniunctions better kepte, and ſende youre viſitours in theyr tayles.

And if they be founde necligente or fauty in theyr duties oute with them. I require it in Gods behalfe, make them quondams all the packe of them. But peraduenture ye wil ſaye. Where ſhall we haue anye to put in theyr roumes.

In dede I were a preſumptuous fellow to moue your grace to put them oute, if there were not other to put in theyr places. But youre maieſtye hath diuers of youre chaplayns, well learned men, and of good

* And it shall be with him, &c — † All the days of his life.—*Idem Deut. xvii 19:* see text at p. 55.

knowledge, and yet ye haue ſome that be bad inough, hangers on of ye court. I meane not thoſe. but if your maieſties chaplayns, and my Lorde Protectours be not able to furniſhe theyr places, there is in thys realme, thankes be to God, a greate ſyghte of laye men wel learned in the ſcriptures, and of vertuouſ- and Godly conuerſation, better lerned then a greate ſight of vs, of the cleargy.

I can name a numbre of them that are able and woulde be glad I dare ſay to miniſter ye function if they be called to it. I moue it of conſcience to youre grace, lette them be called to it orderly, let them haue inſtitution, and gyue them the name of ye cleargye. I meane not the name onlye, but lette theym, do the function of a byſhop, and lyue of the ſame. Not as it is in many places, that one ſhoulde haue the name, and eyghte other the profytte.

For what an enormitie is this in a chriſtian realme to ſerue in a ciuilitye, hauynge the profyt of a Proueſt-ſhyp and a Deanry, and a Perſonage.

But I wyll tell you what is lyke to come of it. It wyl bryng the cleary ſhortely into a very ſlauerye. I maye not forget here my *Scala cæli*, that I ſpoke of in my laſte ſermon. I wyll repete it now againe, deſier-yng your grace in Goddes behalfe that ye wyll re-membre it.

The Byſhop of Rome had a *Scala cæli*, but his was a mas[s] matter. This *Scala cæli*, is the true ladder that bryngeth a manne to heauen, the toppe of the ladder or fyrſt greeſe, is thys.

Who ſo euer calleth vpon the name of the Lorde, ſhall be ſaued. The ſeconde ſtepe. Howe ſhall they call vppon hym, in whom they haue no beleue.

The thyrd ſtayer is thys. How ſhal they beleue in hym of whom they neuer heard? The fourth ſtepe. Howe ſhall they heare wythout a preacher. Nowe the nether ende of the ladder is. Howe ſhall they preach, except they be ſent. This is the fote of the ladder, ſo that we maye go backeward now, and ſe ye

ſchole argument. *A primo ad ultimum.* Take awaye preachinge, take away ſaluation.

But I feare one thynge, and it is: leſt for a ſalſety of a little money, you wyll put in chauntrye Prieſtes, to ſaue theyr pentions.

But I wyll tell you, Chriſte boughte Soules wyth hys bloude, and wyll ye ſell theym for golde or ſyluer.

I woulde not that ye ſhould do wyth chauntrye prieſtes, as ye dyd wyth the Abbotes, when Abbeyes were put downe.

For when theyr enormities were fyrſte read in ye parliment houſe, they were ſo greate and abhominable, that there was nothynge but downe with them. But within a whyle after, the ſame Abbottes were made byſhops as there be ſome of them yet a lyue to ſaue and redeme theyr pentions. O Lorde, thinke ye, that God is a fole, and ſeeth it not, and if he ſe it, wyl he not punyſhe it. And ſo nowe for ſalſety of money, I wold not yat ye ſhould put in chauntry prieſtes, I ſpeake not now againſt ſuche chauntry prieſtes as are able to preache, but thoſe that are not able I wyll not haue them put in. For if ye do thys ye ſhall Anſwere for it.

It is in the text, that a king ought to feare god, he ſhal haue the dreade of God before hys eyes, worcke not by worldelye polycye, for worldly policie feareth not God.

Take hede of theſe claubacks, theſe venemouſe people that wyll come to you, that wyll folowe lyke gnatoes and Paraſites, if you folowe theym, you are oute of youre boke. If it be not accordynge to Gods worde that they counſayle you, do it not for any wordly policye, for then ye feare not God.

It foloweth in the texte. *Vt non eleuetur cor eius.** That he be not proude aboue hys brethern. A kynge muſte not be proude, for God myght haue made hym a ſhepheard, when he made him a kyng, and done hym no wronge.

* *That his heart* be not lifted up above his brethren.—Deut. xvii. 19: see text at p. 55.

here be many examples of proude kynges in pture.

s Pharao that woulde not heare the meſſage of l. Herode alſo, yat put Iohn Baptiſt to death, and de not heare hym, he tolde hym that it was not efull for hym to marye hys brothers wyfe.

eroboam alſo was a proude kynge. An other ge there was that worſhipped ſtraunge Gods and is, of thoſe men whom he had ouercome before in ayle, and when a prophet tolde hym of it. What l he. Who made you one of my councel. Theſe e proud kynges, theyr enſamples are not to be fo-ed.

ut wherefore ſhall a kynge feare God, and turne ther to the ryght hande, nor to the left? Wherefore l he do all thys? *Vt longo tempore regnet, ipſe et filii* .* That he may raigne long. he and hys chyldren. nembre thys I beſech your grace. And when theſe erers, and flybbergybes an other daye ſhall come clawe you by the backe and ſay.

yr trouble not your ſelfe? What ſhould you ſtudy? y ſhold you do this or that. Your grace maye wer them thus, and ſay. What Syrra, I perceyue are wery of vs, and our poſteritye. Doeth not l ſai in ſuch a place. That a king ſhold wryt oute oke of Gods lawe, and reade it? learne to feare l. And whye? That he and his, might raygne g, I perceyue nowe thou arte a traytoure.

ell hym thys tale once, and I warrant you he wyll e no more to you, neyther he, nor any other after a ſorte.

nd this ſhal your grace driue theſe flatterers and backes awaye. And I am afrayed I haue troubled to longe.

herefore I wyl furnyſhe the texte nowe wyth an ory or two, and then I wyll leaue you to God. Ye e heard how a kyng ought to paſſe ye tyme. He

hat he may prolong *his* days *in* his kingdom, he, and his children.—*Deut.* xvii. 20: see text at p. 55.

muſte read the boke of God, and it is not inoughe for hym to reade, but he muſt be acquainted wyth all ſcripture, he muſt ſtudye, and he muſte praye, and howe ſhall he do both theſe.

He maye learne at Salomon,

God ſpake vnto Salomon, when he was made a kynge, and bade hym aſke of hym what he woulde, and he ſhould haue it. Make thy peticion ſayed God, and thou ſhalt obtayne.

Nowe marke Salomons prayer. *domine, O domine deus,** ſayd he. O Lorde God, it is thou that haſt cauſed me to raigne, and haſte ſet me in my fathers ſeate, for thou God onelye doeſte make kynges. Thus ſhould Kynges prayſe God, and thanke God as Salomon dyd.

But what was his petition? Lorde, ſayed he. *Da mihi cor docile.* He aſke a docible herte, a wyſe herte, and wyſedome to go in and to go out, that is to begyn all myne affayres well, and to brynge them to good effecte and purpoſe, that I maye learne to guyde and gouerne my people. When he had made his peticion it pleaſed God wel that Salomon aſked wiſdome, and neyther ryches nor longe lyfe, and therefore God made hym thys anſwere. Bycauſe thou haſt choſen wyſedome aboue al thynges I wyl gyue ye it, and thou ſhalt be ye wyſeſt kyng that euer was before the, and ſo he was, and the wiſeſt in al kynds of knowle[d]ge that euer was ſyth; and thoughe he did not aſke riches, yet god gaue him both ryches and honoure, more then euer anye of hys auncitours had.

So your grace muſt learne howe to do of Salomon. Ye muſt make your petition, now ſtudy, nowe praye. They muſt be yoked togither, and thys is called paſtime wyth good company. Nowe when God had geuen Salomon wyſedome, he ſente hym by and by occaſion to occupy hys wyt. For God gaue neuer a gyft, but he ſent occaſion at one tyme or an other to ſhewe it to Gods glory. As if he ſent riches, he ſendeth pore men to be helped wyth it. But now muſt

* 1 Kings iii.

men occupy theyr goodes other ways. They wil not loke on the poore, they muſte helpe their children, and purchaſe them more land then euer their grandfather had before them. But I ſhall tell you what Chriſt ſayd. He that loueth his child better then me is not worthye to be my diſciple. I can not ſe how ye ſhal ſtande before God at the later daye, when thys ſentence ſhall be layed agaynſte you.

But to returne to my purpoſe, there were two pore women came before Salomon to complayne. They were two harlots, and dwelled togyther in one houſe, and it chaunced within. ii. dayes they chylded both. The one of theſe women bi chaunce in the nyght had kylled hyr child and roſe priuely and went to the other woman, and toke hir lyue chylde away, and left hir dead chylde in hys place.

Vpon that they came boeth before Salomon to haue the matter iudged, whoſe the child was. And the one ſayed, it is my chylde. Naye, ſayeth the other, it is myne. So there was yea, and naye, betwene them, and they helde vp the matter wyth ſkoldinge after a womanly faſhyon. At length Salomon repeted theyr tale as a good iudge, ought to do, and ſayd to the one woman.

Thou ſayſt the child is thine, yea ſayed ſhe. And thou ſayſte it is thyne to the other. Well, fetche me a ſwerd ſayed he. For there was no way now to trye whyche was the true mother, but by naturall inclination.

And ſo he ſayed to one of hys ſeruantes. Fetche me a ſwerde and deuyde the chyld betwene them. When the mother of the chylde that accuſed the other hearde hym ſaye ſo. Naye for Goddes ſake ſayed ſhe, let hyr haue the whole chylde, and kil it not. Naye quod the other, neyther thyne, nor myne, but let it be deuided.

Then ſayed Salomon. Geue thys woman the chylde, thys is the mother of the chylde.

What came of thys? *Audiuit omnis Iſrael.* When

all Iſraell heard of thys iudgemente, they feared the kyng. It is wyſedome and Godly knowle[d]ge that cauſeth a kyng to be feared. One word note here for Gods ſake, and I wyll trouble you no lenger.

Woulde Salomon beynge ſo noble kynge heare. ii. poore women. They were pore, for as the ſcripture ſaith. They were togyther alone in a houſe, they hadde not ſo muche as one ſeruaunt betwene them boeth.

Woulde kynge Salomon I ſay heare them in his own perſon? Yea forſothe. And yet I heare of many matters before my Lorde Protectour, and my Lorde Chaunceloure that can not be hearde. I muſte deſyre my Lorde protectours grace to heare me in thys matter, that your grace would heare poore mens ſutes yourſelfe. Putte it to none other to heare, let them not be delayed. The ſaying is, nowe that mony is harde euery wher if he be ryche he ſhall ſoone haue an ende of his matter. Other are fayn to go home with weping teares for ani help they can obtain at ani Iudges hand. Heere mens ſuets your ſelfe I requyre you in godes behalfe and put it not to the hering of theſe veluet cotes, theſe vp ſkippes. Nowe a man can ſkarſe knowe them from an auncyent Knyght of the countrye.

I can not go to my boke for pore folkes come vnto me, deſirynge me that I wyll ſpeake yat that theyr matters maye be heard. I trouble my Lord of Canterburye, and beynge at hys houſe nowe and then I walke in the garden lokyng in my boke, as I canne do but little good at it. But ſome thynge I muſte nedes do to ſatiſſye thys place.

I am no ſoner in the garden and haue red a whyle, but by and by commeth there ſome or other knocking at the gate.

Anone cometh my man and ſayth. Syr, there is one at the gate woulde ſpeake wyth you. When I come there, then is it ſome or other that deſireth me that I wyll ſpeake that hys matter might he heard,

and that he hathe layne thys longe at great coſtes and charges, and can not once haue hys matter come to the hearing, but among all other, one eſpecially moued me at thys tyme to ſpeake.

Thys it is ſyr. A gentylwoman came to me and tolde me, that a greate man kepeth certaine landes of hyrs from hir, and wilbe hyr tenaunte in the ſpite of hyr tethe. And that in a whole twelue moneth ſhe coulde not gette but one daye for the hearynge of hyr matter, and the ſame daye when the matter ſhoulde be hearde, the greate manne broughte on hys ſyde a greate ſyghte of Lawyers for hys counſayle, the gentilwoman had but one man of lawe: and the great man ſhakes hym ſo that he can not tell what to do, ſo that when the matter came to the poynte, the Iudge was a meane to the gentylwoman, that ſhe wold let the great man haue a quietnes in hyr Lande. .I beſeche youre grace that ye wyll loke to theſe matters.

Heare them your ſelfe? Vieue your Iudges? And heare pore mens cauſes. And you proude Iudges herken what God ſayeth in hys holye boke. *Audite illos, ita paruum ut magnum.** Heare theym ſayeth he, the ſmall as well as the greate, the pore as well as the ryche. Regarde no perſon, feare no man. Why? *Quia domini iudicium eſt.** The iudgemente is Goddes.

Marcke thys ſayinge thou proude Iudge? The deuyl will brynge thys ſentence at the daye of Dombe. Helwyl be ful of theſe Iudges if they repent not and amende.

They are worſſe then the wicked Iudge that Chriſte ſpeaketh of, that neyther feared God, nor the worlde. There was a certayne wyddowe that was a ſuter to a Iudge, and ſhe met hym in euery corner of the ſtreate, crynge. I pray you heare me, I beſech you heare me, I aſke nothynge but ryght.

When the Iudge ſawe hyr ſo importunate, though I fere neyther God, ſayth he, nor the worlde, yet bycauſe of hyr importunatenes I wyll graunte hyr requeſte.

* Ye shall hear the small as well the face of man; for the judgment is as the great, ye shall not be afraid of God's.—Deut. i. 17.

But our Iudges are worſſe then thys Iudge was. For they wyll neyther heare men for Gods ſake, nor feare of the worlde, not importunatenes, nor any thynge elſe. Yea ſome of them wyll commaund them to ward, if thei be importunat.

I hearde ſaye, that when a ſuter came to one of theym, he ſayed. What fellowe is it that geueth theſe folke counſayl to be ſo importunate, he would be punyſhed and commytted to ward.

Mary ſye, puniſhe me then, it is euen I that gaue them counſayle, I woulde gladlye be puniſhed in ſuche a cauſe. And if ye mend not, I wyll cauſe them to crye oute vppon you ſtyll: euen as long as I lyue. I wyll do it in dede, but I haue troubled you long. As I began wyth thys ſentence. *Quæcunque ſcripta ſunt. &c.** So wyl I end now wyth thys texte. *Beati qui audiunt verbum dei et cuſtodiunt illud.*† Bleſſed are they that heare the worde of God and kepeth it.

There was an other ſute and I had almooſte forgotten it.

There is a poore woman that lyeth in the Flete, and can not come by anye meanes that ſhe can make, to hyr anſwere, and woulde fayne be baylled, offerynge to put in ſuerties worth a thouſande pounde and yet ſhe can not be hard. Me thinke this is a reaſonable cauſe, it is great pitie yat ſuch things ſhold ſo be. I beſech God, that he wil graunte that all that is amyſe may be amended yat we mai hear his word and kepe it, yat we mai hear his worde, and kepe it, yat we maye come to ye eternall bliſſe, to the which blyſſe I beſeche God to bryng both you and me. Amen.

* Rom. xv. 4.

† Blessed *are* they that hear the word of God, and keep it.—Luke xi. 28.

The thyrde

Sermon of Maypster Hughe Latimer, whyche he preached before the Kynge wythin hys graces Palayce at Westmister the. xxii. daye of Marche.

*Vœcumque ſcripta ſunt ad noſtram doctrinam ſcripta ſunt.** Al thinges yat are wrytten, are wrytten to be oure doctrine. Al thinges that be wrytten in Gods holye Boke the Byble, were wrytten to be oure doctrine longe before our tyme, to ſerue from tyme to time, and ſo forth to the worldes ende.

Ye ſhall haue in Remembraunce, mooſte benynge and gracyouſe Audience, that a preacher hathe. ii. offices, and the one to be vſed orderly after an other.

The fyrſte is *Exhortari per ſanam doctrinam.*† To teach true doctrine He ſhall haue alſo occation oftentymes to vſe an other, and that is. *Contradicentes conuincere.*† To reprehende to conuynce, to confute gayneſayers and ſpurners againſt the truth.

Whye? you wyll ſaye, wyll anye bodye gayne ſaye true doctryne, and ſound doctrine? Well, let a preacher be ſure, yat hys doctrine be true, and it is not to be thought, that anye bodye wil gaineſaye it. If. S. Paule had not forſene that ther ſhold be gayneſayers, he hadde not neade to haue appoynted the confutation of gayneſayinge.

* Rom. xv. 4.

† [A bishop]. . . that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers. —Titus i. 9.

Was there euer yet preachers, but ther were gaynſaiars? that ſpurned? that winſt? yat whympered agaynſte him? that blaſphemed, that gayneſayed it?

When Moyſes came to Egipt wyth ſounde doctrine, he had Pharao to gayneſay hym. Ieremy was the miniſter of the true word of God, he had gainſayers the prieſtes, and the falſe Prophets borne vp by Achab.

Ely[as] had all Bals prieſtes ſupported by Ieſabel to ſpeake agaynſte hym.

Iohn Baptiſte and our Sauioure Ieſus Chriſte, had the Phariſeis, the Scribes, and the prieſtes gaynſayers to theym. The Apoſtles, ye Apoſtles had gayne ſayers alſo, for it was ſayd to ſaynt Paule at Rome. *Notum eſt nobis quod ubique ſectæ huic contradicitur.** We knowe that euery man doth gayneſaye thys lernyng. After the Apoſtles time the trueth was gayneſayed with tyrantes, as Nero, Maxentius, Domicianus, and ſuche lyke, and alſo by the doctrine of wicked heritikes.

In the popiſh maſſe time, ther was no gaynſaiynge, al thynges ſemed to be in peace, in a concorde, in a quiet agrement. So longe as we had in adoration, in admiration, the popyſhe maſſe, we were then without gaynſaying. What was that?

The ſame yat Chriſte ſpeaketh of. *Cum fortis armatus cuſtodierit atrium etc.*† When Sathan the deuyl hath the guydynge of the houſe, he kepeth all in peace yat is in his poſſeſſyon: whan Sathan ruleth, and bereth domynion in open Religyon, as he dyd with vs when we preched pardon matters, purgatory matters and pylgremage matters, al was quiet. He is ware inough, he is wily, and circumſpect for ſtiryng vp any ſedicion. When he kepeth his terrytory al is in peace.

Yf there were any manne that preached in England in times paſt, in the popes tymes, (as peraduenture ther was. ij. or. iij.) ſtraight ways he was taken and naped in ye head wyth the title of an heretique. When

* For as concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against.—*Acts* xxviii. 22.

† When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace —Luke xi. 21.

he hath the religyon in poſſeſſyon he ſturreth vppe no ſedytyon, I warrent yow.

Howe many diſcentions haue we hearde of in Turkye? But a fewe I warrant you. He buſyeth hym ſelfe there wyth no diſcention. For he hathe there dominion in the open Religion, and neadeth not to trouble hym ſelfe any further.

The Iewes lyke ronnagates where ſo euer they dwell (for they be diſperſt and be tributaries in all contryes where they enhabyte) loke ye Heare ye anye heriſeis amonge them? But when *fortis ſuperuenerit** when one ſtronger then the Deuyl, cometh in place, whych is oure Sauioure Ieſus Chriſte, and reueleth hys worde, then the Deuyll roareth, then he beſtyrreth hym, then he rayſeth diuerſitie of opinions to ſlaunder Gods word. And if euer concord ſhould haue bene in Religion, when ſhoulde it haue bene but when Chriſte was here? Ye ſynde faulte wyth preachers, and ſaye, they cauſe ſedition. We are noted to be raſſh, and vndiſcrete in our preachynge. Yet as diſcrete as Chriſte was ther was diuerſitie, yea, what he was him ſelf. For when he aſked what men called hym. His Apoſtles anſwered him. Some ſaye, you are Iohan Baptiſte, ſome ſaye you are Helias, and ſome ſaye, you are one of the prophets, and theſe were they yat ſpake beſte of hym. For ſome ſayed, he was a Samaritane, that he had a Deuyll wythin him, a gloſer, a drincker, a potcompanion.

There was neuer Prophet to be compared to him, and yet was ther neuer more diſcention then when he was, and preached hym ſelfe.

If it were contraried then, wil ye thynke it ſhal not be contraryed nowe, when charitie is ſo colde and iniquitye ſo ſtronge. Thus theſe backebiters, and ſclaunderers muſt be conuinced.

Sainte Paule ſayed. There ſhall be intractabiles, that wil whympe and whine, ther ſhall be alſo Vani-

* But when a stronger than he shall come unto him.—Luke xi. 22.

loqui, vayne ſpeakers. For the whyche Sayn
appoynteth the preacher to ſtoppe theyr mou
it is a preachers office to be a mouthe ſtopp
Thys daye I muſte ſomewhat do in the
offyce, I muſte be a gayneſaver, and I mu
theyr mouthes, conuynce, refell, and conf
they ſpeake ſclaunderouſlye of me.

There be ſome gayneſayers gayneſayers,
be ſome ſclaunderouſe people, vayneſyeak
intractabiles whych I muſt nedes ſpeake aga
But fyrſte I wyll make a ſhorte rehearſall
memorye of that, that I ſpake in my laſte
And that done, I wyll confute one that ſla
me. For one ther is yat I muſt nedes anſw
for he ſclaundereth me for my preachynge
kynges maieſtye. There be ſome to blame, t
a preacher is wearye, yet they wyll haue hy
all at once.

Ye muſt tary till ye here more. Ye mu
offended till ye here the reſt. Heare al
iudge al. What ye are verye haſtie, very qu
youre preachers? But before I enter further
matter I ſhal deſire you to praye. etc.

Fyrſt of all as touchynge my fyrſt ſermo
runne it ouer *curſorie*, ryppyng a lytle the n

The Epilo-ge, or rehersal of the fyrste ſermon.

brought in an hyſtorye of the
cytinge my audience to beware c
ynges, to walke ordinatelye, pl
kynges hygh way, and agre to that, which
wyth the ordre of a Realme.

I ſhewed you how we were vnder the
God, for our kinge is *Nobilis*, I ſhewed you
noble Kynge. True inheritoure to the cr
out doubte. I ſhewed furthermore of hys g
cacion. He hath ſuche ſchole Mayſters as c
gotten in all the Realme a gaine. Wherefor

The Kynges Scolemaſte-res are pray-ſed.

be ſuer yat God bleſſed thys R
thoughe he curſſed ye realme, w
is a chyld, vnder whom the

climbynge and glenynge, ſturynge, ſcrachynge, and ſcrapyng, and volupteouſly ſet on banketyng and for the maynetenaunce of their voluptеouſnes, go by walkes. And althoughe he be yong he hath as good, and as ſage a counſayle, as euer was in England, which we maye wel know by their godly procedinges, and ſettynge fourthe of the worde of God: Therfore lette vs not be worſe, then the ſtiffe necked Iewes. In kinge Ioſias tyme, (who beynge yonge dyd alter, chaunge and correcte wonderfully the religion) it was neuer hard in Ieurye that the people repyned or ſayed, The kynge is a child. This geare wyl not laſt long. It is but one or two mens doinges. It wyll tarye but for a tyme. The kynge knoweth it not. Wo worth that euer ſuch men were borne. Take hede leſt for our rebellion God take hys bleſſynge a waye from vs. I entred into the place of the kynges paſtyme. I tolde you howe he muſte paſſe hys tyme in readynge the boke of God (for that is the kynges paſtyme by gods appoyntemente) in the whyche boke he ſhal lerne to feare God.

The Counſayle of Englande haue theyr condynge and worthye prayse worthely.

The people dyd not repyne agaynst Kynge Iosyas in hys minorite.

What is a Prynce lyke pastyme.

Oh howe carefull God is to ſet in an order all thynges that belong to a kyng, in his chamber, in hys ſtable, in hys treaſure houſe.

God is carefull for a kinges house and the order of the same.

Theſe peuiſhe people in this Realme haue nothynge but the kynge, the kinge in theyr mouthes, when it maketh for theyr purpoſe. As ther was a doctor that preached, the kinges maieſty hath his holy water, he crepeth to the croſſe, and then thei haue nothynge but the Kynge the king in their mouthes. Theſe be my good people that muſte haue their mouthes ſtopte, but if a man tel them of the kynges proceadynges, nowe they haue theyr ſhyftes, and theyr putofs ſainge, we maye not *go before* a lawe, we maye

The kinge is in euery mannes mouthe when it makes for theyr purpose.

Many shyftes and put offes.

breake no order. Theſe be the wicked pre
ther mouthes muſte be ſtopte, theſe be the gayn
Another thing ther is yat I told you of, *Ne*
a kynge must not be proude. *cor regis. etc.** The kynge muſt
proude ouer hys brethren. He
order his people wyth brotherly loue and c
Here I broughte in exemples of proude kyng
ij. Kyndes of pryde in a kyng. is a greate pride in kinges and mai
when they wyl not heare, nor
formable to the ſound doctrine of god. It is a
kinde of pride in kynges, when they thynke
ſelues ſo high, ſo lofty, that they diſdaine and
it not for their honour to heare poore mens
Kinges haue clawe backes and docter pyke mote and his fellowe aboute them. them ſelues. They haue claubackes
vnto them. What ſir? what nede
trouble your ſelfe? take you your
ſure, hunte, Hauke, daunce, and
Clawbackes counſell. let vs a lone: we wyll gouerne an
the commune weale matters well yn
Wo worth them, they haue bene the roote
myſchife and deſtruccion in thys Realme. A
A kynge must pray as wel as rede ought not only for to reade and ſtu
alſo to praye. Let hym borowe e
at Salomon, who pleaſed God hyghlye wy
Salomon prayed for wysedome peticion, deſyringe no worldly thing
wiſedom, whych God did not onely
hym, but becauſe he aſked wyſedome, he ga
manye mo thynges. As ryches, honoure, an
like. Oh, how it pleaſed God that he aſked w
And after he had geuen him this wiſdome h
hym alſo occaſion to vſe the ſame by a cou
ſtrumpets. Here I told an example of a meke
who ſo continued, vntyll, he came into the co
of ſtrange women. He hard them not by n
Salomon herd the cauſes and complayntes of or by anye other, but in hys owne
and I thinke verely the natural
had neuer had her own child if

* That his heart be not 'ifted up above his brethren.—Deut. see text at p. 55.

not herd the cauſe hym ſelfe. They were *Meritrices.* Hoores althoughe ſome excuſeth ye matter, and ſay they were but typplers, ſuch as kepe alehouſes. But it is but foly to excuſe them, ſeyng ye Iewes were ſuch, and not vnlyke, but thei had theyr ſtewes and the mayntenaunce of whordom as they had of other vyces. One thynge I muſt here deſier you to reforme my lords. You haue put downe the Stues. But I praye you what is the matter a mended? what a vayleth that? ye haue but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom awaye. God ſhould be honored euery where. For the ſcripture ſayth *Domini est terra et plenitudo eius.** The earth and the land is the Lordes. What place ſhuld be then within a Chriſtian realme left, for to diſhonour God. I muſt nedes ſhewe you ſuch newes as I here. For thoughe I ſe it not my ſelfe, notwithſtandinge it commeth faſter to me then I would wiſhe. I do as S. Paule doth to the Corinthians *Auditur in vos ſtuprum.*† There is ſuch a whoredome amonge you as is not amonge the gentiles. So lykewiſe. *Auditur,* I here ſay, yat ther is ſuch whoredome in Englande as neuer was ſene the like. He charged al the Corinthians for one mans offence ſayinge. They were al gilty for one mans ſynne, if they would not correcte and redreſſe it, but winke at it. Lo, here may you ſe how that one mans ſinne poluted al Corinth. A litle leauen as S. Paulle ſayeth, corrupteth a greate deale of dowe. Thys is, *Communicare alienis Peccatis,*‡ to be partaker of other mens ſines I aduertiſe you in goddes name loke to it. I here ſay, ther is now more whoredom in London, then euer ther was on the bancke. Theſe be the newes I haue to tell you. I feare they be true.

hys people in hys owne persone.

M. Latimers request to the lordes for the abolishement of whordome.

Al the Corinthyans charged for wo- [one's] mans synne

More whoredom in London then euer ther was on the banke,

* The earth *is* the LORD's, and the fulness thereof.—Psa. xxiv. 1.

† *It is* reported commonly *that there* is fornication among you.—1 Cor. v. 1.

‡ Neither be partaker of other men's sins.—1 Tim. v. 22.

Ye ought to here of it, and redreſſes it, I here of it, and as paul ſayeth, *Aliqua ex parte credo.**

There is more open whoredome more ſtuede whoredome then euer was before. For Gods ſake let it be loked vpon. It is youre offyce to ſe vnto it. Now to my confutacion. Ther is a certaine man that ſhortly after my fyrſt ſermon, beynge aſked if he had bene at the ſermon that day, anſwered, yea: I praye you ſaid he how lyked you hym? mary ſayed he, euen as I lyked hym alwayes, a ſedicious fellowe. Oh lord he pinched me ther in dede, nay he had rather a ful bytte at me. Yet I comfort my ſelf with that, that Chriſt hym ſelfe was noted to be a ſturrer vp of the people againſt the Emperoure, and was contented to be called ſediciouſe. It becommeth me to take it in good worthe, I am not better then he was. In the kings daies that dead is, a meanye of vs were called together before hym to ſaye our myndes in certaine matters. In the end one kneleth me downe, and accuſeth me of sedicion, that I had preached ſediciouſe doctryne. A heuye ſalutacion, and a harde poynt of ſuche a mans doynge, as yf I ſhoulde name hym, ye woulde not thinke it. The king turned to me and ſayed. What ſaye you to that ſyr? Then I kneled downe, and turned me firſte to myne accuſer, and requyred hym.

Of one that reported. M. Latimer to be a sedicious fellowe.

Christ was notyd for a sedicioufe styrrer of the people.

How. M. Latimer was accused to oure late kynge of famous memorye Kynge Henry the eygthe and hys answere.

Syr what fourme of preachinge woulde you appoynt me to preache before a Kynge? Wold you haue me for to preache nothynge as concernynge a Kynge in the Kynges ſermon? Haue you any commyſſion to apoynt me what I ſhal preache. Beſydes this, I aſked hym dyuers other queſtions, and he wold make no anſwere to none of them all. He had nothinge to ſaye. Then I turned me to the Kynge, and ſubmytted my ſelfe to hys Grace

* I partly believe it.—1 Cor. xi. 18.

and ſayed I neuer thought my ſelfe worthy, nor I neuer ſued to be a preacher before youre grace, but I was called to it, and would be willynge if you miſlike me, to geue place to mi betters. For I graunt ther be a great many more worthy of the roume then I am. And if it be your graces pleaſure ſo to allowe them for preachers, I could be content to bere their bokes after them. But if youre grace allowe me for a preacher I woulde deſyre your grace to geue me leaue to dyſcharge my concience. Geue me leaue to frame my doctryne accordyng to myne audience. I had byne a veri dolt to haue preached ſo, at the borders of your realme, as I preach before your grace. And I thanke almyghtye God, whych hath all wayes byne my remedy, that my ſayinges were well accepted of the kynge, for lyke a gracious Lorde he turned it into a nother communicacyon. It is euen as the ſcripture ſaieth. *Cor Regis in manu domini.** The Lorde dyrected the kynges hart. Certaine of my frendes came to me wyth teares in theyr eyes, and tolde me, they loked I ſhould haue bene in the tower the ſame nyghte. Thus haue I euer more bene burdened wyth the worde of ſedition. I haue offended God greuouſlye, tranſgreſſynge hys lawe, and but for hys remedy and hys mercy, I woulde not loke to be ſaued. As for ſedicion, for ought that I knowe, me thynkes, I ſhoulde not nede Chriſt, if I myght ſo ſaye. But if I be cleare in anye thynge, I am cleare in thys. So farre as I knowe myne owne herte, there is no man further from ſedicion then I, the whyche I haue declared in al my doynges, and yet it hath bene euer laied to me Another tyme, when I gaue ouer mine office, I ſhould haue receyued a certayne dutye that they cal a Pentecoſtal, it came to the ſumme of fyftye and fyue pound, I ſent my commiſſarye to gather

His aunswer to the kynge.

In preaching we must haue respect to the place and to the persons,

M. Latimer was euer voide of sedicion and yet styl charged and burdened therwith.

How. M. Latimer hys pentecoſtall was de-

* The king's heart *is* in the hand of the LORD.—PROV. xxi. 1.

teyned and vppon what skyll.

it, but he coulde not be ſuffered. For it was ſayed a ſedicion ſhoulde ryſe vpon it. Thus they burdened me euer wyth ſedicion. So thys gentilman commeth vp nowe wyth ſedicion. And wote ye what? I chaunced in my laſte Sermon to ſpeake a merye worde of the new ſhilling, to refreſhe my auditory, howe I was lyke to put away my newe ſhillynge for an old grote, I was herein noted to ſpeake ſedicioufly. Yet I conforte my ſelfe in one thyng, yat I am not alone, and that I haue a fellowe. For it is, *Conſolatio miſerorum.* It is the comforte of the wretched to haue company. When I was in trouble. it was obiected an[d] ſayed vnto me, yat I was ſingular, that no manne thought as I thought, that I loued a ſyngularyte in all that I dyd, and that I tooke a way, contrary to the kynge, and the whole parliamente, and that I was trauayled wyth them, that had better wyttes then I, that I was contrari to them al. Marye ſyr thys was a ſore thunder bolte. I thought it an yrkſome thinge to be alone, and to haue no fellowe. I thoughte it was poſſyble it myghte not be true that they tolde me. In the. vii. of Ihon the Preſtes ſente oute certayne of the Iewes to bring Chriſt vnto them vyolentlye. When they came into the temple, and harde hym preache, they were ſo moued wyth his preachynge, that they returned home agayne, and ſayed to them that ſente them. *Nunquam ſic locutus eſt homo ut hic homo.** There was neuer man ſpake lyke this man. Then anſwered the Phariſes *Num et uos ſeducti eſtis?*† What ye brainſycke fooles, Ye hoddy peckes, Ye doddye poulles, ye huddes, do ye beleue hym? are you ſeduced alſo? *Num quis ex Principibus credidit in eum.*‡ Did ye ſe anye greate man, or anye great offycer take hys part? doo ye ſe any boddy follow hym, but beggerlye fyſhers, and ſuche as

Of the newe shyllynge.

M. Latimer noted of a ſyngularyte.

A paraphraſtical expoſition.

* Never man ſpake like this man. —John vii. 46.

† Are ye also deceived?—Ver. 47.

‡ Have any of the rulers or of the Phariſees believed on him?—Ver. 48.

haue nothynge to take to? *Num quis ex Phariſeis*? Doo ye ſe anye holy man? any perfect man? any learned man take hys parte? *Turba quæ ignorat legem execrabilis eſt.** Thys laye people is accurſed, it is they that know not the lawe, that takes hys parte, and none elles.

Lo here the Phariſes hadde nothynge to choke the people, wyth al, but ignoraunce. They dyd as our byſhoppes of Englande, who vpbrayded the people al wayes wyth ignoraunce, where they were the cauſe of it themſelues. There were ſayeth ſaint Iohn. *Multi ex principibus, qui crediderunt in eum.*† Many of the chyefe menne beleued in hym, and that was contrarye to the Phariſyes ſayinge. Oh then by lyke they belyed him, he was not alone.

The byſhoppes called the people ignoraunt and they were the cauſe of it themſelues.

So thoughte I, there be more of myne opinion then I, I thought I was not alone. I haue nowe gotten one felowe more, a companyon of ſedition, and wot ye who is my felow? Eſai the Prophete, I ſpeake but of a lytle preaty ſhyllynge. But he ſpeaketh to Hieruſalem after an other ſorte, and was ſo bold to meddle with theyr coine Thou proude, thou couetouſe, thou hautye cytye of Hieruſalem. *Argentum tuum verſum eſt in ſcoriam.*‡ Thy ſyluer is turned into, what? into teſtyons? *Scoriam*,‡ into droſſe. Ah ſedicioufe wretche, what hadde he to do wyth the mynte? Why ſhoulde not he haue lefte that matter to ſome mayſter of policy to reproue?

M. Latimer hath gotten Esay the prophet to be his companion in sedicion.

Marke well thys terme.

Esay medled wyth the coyne of the mynt.

Thy Syluer is droſſe, it is not fyne, it is counterfayte, thy ſiluer is turned, you haddeſt good ſyluer. What pertained that to Eſay? Mary he eſpyed a pece of diuinity in that polici, he threatneth them goddes vengaunce for it. He went to the rote of the matter, whych was couetouſnes. He eſpyed two pointes in it, that eythere it came of couet-

Two causes whye money

* But this people who knoweth not the law are cursed.—John vii. 49.

† Among the *chief rulers also many* believed on him.—John xii. 42.

‡ Thy silver is become dross.—Isa. i. 22.

in Esayes tyme was more baser and worse.

ouſneſſe, whych became hym to re
or els that it tended to the hurte
pore people, for the naughtines
ſyluer, was the occaſion of dearth of all thyn
the Realme. He imputeth it to them as a
cryme. He may be called a mayſter of ſedici
dede. Was not thys a ſedyciouſe harlot to tell
thys to theyr beardes? to theyr face.

Thys ſedicious man goeth alſo forthe, ſa
*Vinum tuum mixtum eſt aqua.** Thy wyne is myn
wyth water. Here he medeleth with
ners, be like ther were bruers in
dayes, as ther be nowe.

Esay medeleth wyth vinteners.

It had bene good for our miſſal prieſtes to
dwelled in that contrye, for they might haue ben
to haue hadde theyre wyne wel my
wyth water. I remembre howe ſ
louſe I was in my tyme of blyndneſ
ignorauncye, when I ſhuld ſaye ma
haue put in water twyſe or thryſe fo
ynge, in ſo muche when I haue b
my Memento, I haue had a grudge
conſcyence, fearynge that I hadde not putte in
ynoughe.

Mayster Latimer was sumthynge scrupulous, when he was a Masse sayer, in delayinge of hys wyne wyth water.

And that which is here ſpoken o
he meaneth it of al actes in the cy
al kindes of faculties, for they ha
theyr medles and mynglynges. That he ſpeak
one thynge, he meaneth generally of al. I mu
you more newes yet.

Esaye spoke of one vyce but he mente yt of mo.

I here ſaye, there is a certayne co
come vp in myxyng of wares.

Howe ſaye you, were it not won
here that clothe makers ſhould b
poticaries

Cloth makers are becõme Poticaryes, yea and amonge the Gospellers.

Yea and as I heare ſaye, in ſuche a place,
as they haue profeſſed the Goſpell, and the w
God moſt earneſtly of a longe tyme. Se how buſ

* Thy wine mixed with water.—Isa. i. 22.

Deuell is to ſclaunder the word of god? Thus the pore goſpel goeth to wracke. Yf his clothe be xviii. yerdes longe, he wyl ſet hym on a racke, and ſtreach hym out wyth ropes, and racke hym tyll the ſenewes ſhrinke a gayne, whyles he hath brought hym to xxvii. yardes. When they haue brought him to that perfection, they haue a prety feate to thycke him againe. He makes me a pouder for it, an[d] playes the poticary, thei cal it floke pouder they do ſo in corporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderfull to conſider, truely a goodly inuention.

A pretti kind of multiplyinge.

Flocke powder.

Oh that ſo goodly wittes ſhold be ſo yl applyed, they maye wel deceyue the people but they can not deceyue God. They were wont to make beddes of flockes and it was a good bed to, nowe they haue turned theyr flockes into a pouder to playe the falſe theaues with it. O wicked deuil what can he inuent to blaſpheme Goddes worde? Theſe myxturs come of couetouſnes. Thei are playne theft. Woo worthe that theſe flockes ſhould ſo ſlander the worde of God.

These mixtures and multyplyinges are theft.

As he ſaied to the Iewes, thy wyne is myngled wyth water, ſo myghte he haue ſayed to vs of thys Lande. Thy clothe is myngeled wyth flockepouder. He goeth yet on. Thys ſedicioufe man reproueth thys honorable cytye, and ſaied. *Principes tui infideles.** Thou land of Hieruſalem, thy magyſtrates, thy Iudges are vnfaythefull, they kepe no touche, they wyll talke of many gaye thinges, they wil pretende this and that, but thei kepe no promiſe. Thei be worſſe then vnfaythefull, he was not afrayed to call the offycers vnfaythfull. *Et ſocii furum.** Felowes of theues, for theues and theues ſelowes, be all of one ſorte They were wonte to faye. Aſke my felowe yf I be a thyefe. He calleth prynces theues. Why, ar[e] prynces theues? What a ſedicioufe harlot

Esay was sumwhat homely: when he calleth the magystrates vnfaythful and fellowes of theues.

* *Thy princes are rebellious,* and companions of thieves.—Isa. i. 23.

was thys? was he worthi to liue in a commune wealth that would cal prynces on yat wyſe, felowes of theues? Had they a ſtandynge at ſhooters hyll, or Stangat hole to take a pourſe? Why? dyd they ſtande by the hyghe waye ſyde Dyd they robbe? or breake open any mans houſe or dore? No no. That is a groſſe kind of theuynge. They were princes, they had a pryncely kynde of theueynge. *Omnes diligunt munera.** They al loue brybes. Brybery is a pryncely kynde of theuing. Thei wil be waged by the rich, eyther to geue ſentence agaynſte the poore, or to put of the poore mannes cauſes. This is the noble theſte of princes, and of magiſtrates. Thei are bribetakers. Nowe a dayes they call them gentle rewardes, let them leaue their colourynge, and cal them by their Chriſtian name. Brybes. *omnes diligunt munera.** Al, al all the prynces, all the Iudges, all the Preſtes, all rulers are brybers. What? were all the magiſtrates in Ieruſalem, all brybe takers? none good? No doubte there were ſome good, This word *omnes*, ſignifeth the mooſte parte, and ſo there be ſome good I doubte not of it in Englande. But yet we be farre worſſe then thoſe ſtyfnecked Iewes. For we reade of none of them yat winſed, or kicked agaynſt Eſaies preachinge, or ſayd yat he was a ſeditiouſe fellowe. It behoueth the magiſtrates to be in credite, and therfore it might ſeme yat Eſay was to blame to ſpeake openli againſt the Magiſtrates. It is very ſure that they that be good wyl beare, and not ſpourne at the preachers, they that be fautye they muſte amende, and neyther ſpourne, nor wynce, nor whyne. He that ſyndeth hym ſelfe touched or galled, he declareth hym ſelfe not to be vpryghte.

Ther are two kynde of theuynges, a grosse kynde of theuynge and a princely kynde of theuynge.

Brybery is a kynde of theauynge.

Brybes haue gotten a new name and vnder a coloure are callyd gentyl rewardes, but that is not theyr chrysten name.

We are worsse then the styffe necked Iewes.

The good wyl not spurne nor kycke at the preacher.

So it faryth by a galled Horse.

* Every one loveth gifts.—Isa. i. 23.

Wo worth theſe giftes, they ſubuert iuſtyce euerye where. *Sequuntur retributiones.** They folow bribes. Some what was geuen to them before, and they muſte nedes geue ſomewhat againe, for giffe gaſe was a good felow, this gyffe gaffe led them clene from iuſtice. Thei folow giftes.

Gyffe Gaffe was a good fellowe.

A good fellow on a tyme had an other of hys frendes to a breakefaſte, and ſayed: Yf you wyl come you ſhalbe welcome, but I tel you afore hande, you ſhal haue but ſclender fare, one diſh and that is al, what is that ſayed he? A puddynge, and nothynge els. Mary ſayed he, you cannot pleaſe me better, of all meates that is for myne owne toth, you may draw me round about the town with a pudding. Theſe brybynge magyſtrates, and iudges folow giftes faſter, then the fellow woulde followe the puddynge.

A good fellow was bidden to a breakfast to a puddynge.

They follow brybes as fast as the fellow dyd the puddynge.

I am contente to beare the title of ſedicion wyth Eſai. Thankes be to God, I am not alone I am in no ſingularytye. This ſame man that layed ſedycyon thus to my charge, was aſked an other tyme, whether he were at the ſermon at Paules croſſe, he aunſwered that he was ther, and beynge aſked what news ther. Mary quod he, wonderful newes, we were ther cleane abſolued, my Mule and al had ful abſolucion, ye may ſe by thys, that he was ſuche a one that rode on a mule and that he was a gentylman.

Of the stout skorneful gentil man which sayed that he and hys Mule had ful absolucion at Paules Crosse:

In dede hys Mule was wyſer then he, for I dare ſaye, the Mule neuer ſclaundered the Preacher. Oh what an vnhappy chaunce had thys Mule to carye ſuche an Aſſe vppon hys backe. I was there at the ſermon my ſelfe, in the ende of hys ſermon he gaue a generall abſolucion, and as farre as I remember theſe, or ſuche other lyke were hys wordes, but at the leaſte I am ſure, thys was hys meanynge. As manye as do knowledge your ſelues to be ſynners, and confeſſe the *ſame and ſtandes* not in de-

The preachers wordes in hys absolucion.

* *And followeth after* rewards.—Isa. i. 23.

ſence of it, and hartelye abhorreth it, and wil beleue in the death of chriſt, and be conformable therunto, *Ego abſoluo uos*, quod he. Now ſayeth thys gentylman, his mule was abſolued. The preacher abſolued but ſuche as were ſorye, and dyd repente. Be lyke then ſhe dyd repent her ſtumblynge, hys Mule was wyſer then he a greate deale. I ſpeake not of worldely wyſedome, for therin he is to wyſe, yea, he is ſo wyſe, that wyſe men maruayle, howe he came truly by the tenth part of that he hath. But in wiſdome which confiſteth *In rebus dei*, *In rebus ſalutis*, in godlye matters and appartaynyng to oure ſaluacion, in this wyſdome he is a blynd as a beatel. They be. *Tanquam equus et Mulus, in quibus non eſt intellectus.** Like Horſes and Mules, that haue no vnderſtandynge. If it were true that the Mule repented hyr of her ſtumbling I thynke ſhe was better abſolued then he. I praye God ſtop his mouth, or els to open it to ſpeke better, and more to hys glory. An other man quickned wyth a word I ſpoke (as he ſayed opprobrioufllye agaynſte the nobility that theyr chyldren dyd not ſet fourth Gods worde, but were vnpreachynge prelates) was offended wyth me.

Mule.

The mysreport of. M. Latimer is worldlye wyse but in godly matters as blind as a beatael.

A charitable whysshe of M. Latimer

How tender and deynety eared men of these dayes be, that had rather commyt. xx. fautes then here tel of one.

I did not meane ſo, but that ſome noble mens chyldren had ſet forth Goddes worde, howe be it the poore mens ſonnes haue done it alwayes for the mooſte parte. Iohannes Alaſco was here a greate learned man, and as they ſaye, a noble man in his contrye, and is gone hys way a gayne, if it be for lacke of intertaynement, the more pytye. I woulde wyſhe ſuche men as he to be in the realme, for the realme ſhoulde proſpere in receyuynge of them. *Qui uos recipit, me recipit.*† Who

Poore mens ſonnes for the most part haue euer traueled aboute the settynge forth of Goddes worde.

Iohannes Alasco.

* As the horse, *or* as the mule, *which* have no understanding.—Psa. xxxii. 9.

† He that receiveth you receiveth me.—Matt. x. 40.

receyueth you receiueth me (ſayed chriſt) and it ſhuld be for the kynges honour to receyue them and kepe them. I heard ſaye Mayſter Melanćton, that greate clarke, ſhoulde come hyther. I woulde wyſhe hym, and ſuche as he is, to haue CC. [two hundred] pound a yere. The king ſhold neuer wante it in hys coffers at the yeres ende. There is yet among vs. ii. great learned men Petrus Martyr, and Bernardine, whych haue a. C. [hundred] marckes a pece. I woulde the Kynge wold beſtowe a thouſand pound on that ſort. Nowe I wil to my place againe. In the later ende of my ſermon I exhorted iudges to heare the ſmall as wel as the great. *Iuſte quod iuſtum eſt iudicate.* You muſt not onelye do iuſtice, but do it iuſtlye, you muſte obſerue all the circumſtances. You muſt geue iuſtice, and miniſter iuſt iudgemente in time.

Yt is honorable for the Kynge to be munificial and lyberal towarde the learned.

Petrus martyr and Barnerdine Ochine.

For the delayinge of matters of the poore folke, is as ſynfull before the face of god as wrong iudgemente. I reherſed here a parable of a wycked Iudge, whiche for importunities ſake, herde the poore womans cauſe, et. cetera.* Here is a comfortable place, for al you that crye oute and are oppreſſed, for you haue not a wycked iudge, but a mercifull iudge to call vnto. I am not ſo ful of folyſhe pytye, but I can conſider well ynoughe, that ſome of you complayne with out a cauſe. They wepe, they wayle, they mourne I am ſure ſome not wyth out a cauſe. I dyd not here reproue all iudges, and finde faute wyth all. I thinke we haue ſome as painfull magiſtrates, as euer was in Englande, but I wyll not ſweare they be all ſo, and they that be not of the beſt, muſte be

The parable of the wicked Iudge.

Some as payneful magystrates in Englande as euer was.

* There was in a city a judge, which feared not God, neither regarded man:

And there was a widow in that city; and she came unto him, saying, Avenge me of mine adversary.

And he would not for a while: but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard man

Yet because this woman troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest by her continual coming she weary me.

And the Lord said, Hear what the unjust judge saith.

And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them?

I tell you that he will avenge them speedily.—Luke xviii. 2—8.

A good lesson for suche as are magistrates, but none of the best.

contente to be taught, and not diſdayne to be reprehended. Dauid ſayeth. *Erudimini qui iudicatis terram.** I refer it to youre conſcience.

*Vos qui iudicatis terram.** Ye that be iudges on the earth, whether ye haue heard poore mens cauſes wyth expedicion or no, Yf ye haue not, then *erudimini*, be content to be touched, to be tolde.

You wydowes, you orphanes, you poore people, here is a confortable place for you.

Thoughe theſe Iudges of the world wyll not heare you, there is one wyl be content with your importunitye, he wyll remedye you, if you come after a ryghte ſorte vnto him.

Ye ſay. The Iudge doth blame you for youre importunitye, it is yrckeſome vnto him. He entered into this parable to teache you to be importune in your petityon. *Non defatigari.* not to be weri.

How and by what meanes we shuld resorte to God in aduersitye

Here he teacheth you, how to come to god in aduerſitie, and by what meanes, whyche is by prayer. I do not ſpeake of the meryte of Chriſt, For he ſayeth. *Ego ſum via.*† I am the way, *qui credit in me, habet vitam eternam*‡ Who ſo beleueth in me hath euerlaſtynge lyfe. But when we are come to Chriſt, what is our way to remydy aduerſitie? in anguyſhe, in tribulacions? in our neceſſites? in our iniuries? The waye is prayer.

We are taught by the commaundement of God. *Inuoca me in die tribulationis et ego eripiam te.*§ Thou wyddowe, thou orphane, thou fatherles chylde, I ſpeake to the that haſt no frendes to healpe the, call vpon me in the daye of thy trybulacion, cal vpon me, *Ego eripiam te.*§

The swete promysse of Christe:

I wyll plucke the a waye, I wyl delyuer the, I wyl take the a waye, I wyll releue the, thou ſhalte haue thy hartes deſyre. Here is the promyſe,

* Be instructed, ye judges of the earth.—Psa. ii. 10.

† I am the way.—John xiv. 6.

‡ He that believeth on me hath *everlasting life.*—John vi. 47.

§ Call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.—Psa. l. 15.

here is the comfort. *Glorificabis me.** Thanke me, accepte me for the author of it, and thanke not thys creature or that for it. Here is the Iudge of al Iudges, come vnto hym, and he wyll heare you. For he ſaieth, *quicquid petieritis patrem in nomine meo. etc.*† What ſo euer ye aſke my father in my name, ſhall be geuen you thorough my merytes. You my rable people that are wronged in the world, aſke of my father in your diſtreſſes, but put me a fore, looke you come not wyth bragges of youre owne merytes but come in my name, and by my meryte. The order of our prayer and askynge.

He hath not the propertye of thys ſtout Iudge, he wyl beare your importunatenes, he wyll not be angrye at your cryinge and calling. The prophet ſaith. *Sperauerunt in te Patres noſtri, et exaudiuiſti illos.*‡ Thou god thou god, our fathers dyd crye vpon the, and thou heardeſt them. Arte thou not oure God as well as theyres. Ther is nothinge more pleaſaunte to God, then for to putte hym in remembraunce of hys goodnes ſhewed vnto our forefathers. It is a pleaſaunte thynge to tell God of the benefytes that he hath done before oure tyme. What God woulde here of vs and wherin he delytys.

Go to Moyſes, who hadde the guydynge of Goddes people, ſe howe he vſed prayer, as an inſtrumente to be delyuered out of aduerſitye, when he hadde greate roughe mountaynes on euerye ſide of hym, and before hym the redde ſea, Pharaos hoſte behynde hym, peril of death round about him. What did he? diſpayred he? no, Whyther went he? He repayred to god with this prayer, and ſayed nothing. Yet with a great ardency of ſp[i]rit he perced gods earres. Now helpe or neuer good lord, now helpe, but in thi hand quod he. Though he neuer moued his lyppes, yet the ſcripture ſayeth he cryed out and the lord heard hym, and ſayd, *quid clamas ad me?*§ Why cryeſt thou oute ſo loude? the people Moises vsed prayer as an instrument in aduersitie.

* Thou shalt glorify me.—Psa l. 15.

† Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give *it* you. —John xvi. 23.

‡ *Our fathers trusted in thee: they* trusted, and thou didst deliver them. —Psa. xxii. 4.

§ Wherefore criest thou unto me? —Exod. xiv. 15.

heard him ſay nothynge, and yet God ſayed. Exodi, xiiii. crieſt thou out. Straight wayes he ſtroke the water with hys rodde, and it deuided, and ſtode vp lyke two walles on eyther ſyde, betwene the whyche goddes people paſſed, and the perſecutours were drowned. Ioſue was in angwyſhe, and lyke diſtreſſe at Iericho, that true captayne that fayethfull Iudge no follower of retributions, no brybe taker, he was no money manne who made hys peticion to almyghty God to ſhewe him the cauſe of hys wrath toward hym, when hys armye was plaged after the takynge of Ierycho. So he obtayned hys prayer, and learned, that for one mannes faulte al the reſte were punyſhed. For Achans couetuouſnes many a thouſande were in agony, and feare of deathe, who hyd his money, as he thought from God. But God ſawe it well ynough, and brought it to lyght.

Ioſue was in anguyshe and distresse and prayed,

For Acans couetuousnes, many a thousande punyshed. Iosue. vii.

Thys Achan was a bywalker. Wel, it came to paſſe, when Ioſua knewe it, ſtrayghtwayes he purged the army, and tooke a waye. *Malum de Iſrael*, that is wyckednes from the people. For Ioſua called him before the people, and ſayed. *Da gloriam deo.** Gyue prayſe to God, tell trothe man, and forthwyth he tolde it. And then he and all hys houſe ſuffered deathe.

Iosue put Achan to death. Iosue. vii.

A goodly enſample for al magiſtrates to followe. Here was the execution of a true Iudge he was no gyfte taker, he was no wynker, he was no bywalker. Alſo when the Aſſirians with an innumerable power of men in Ioſaphates time ouerflowed the lande of Iſrael. Ioſaphate that good king goeth me ſtrayght to god, and made his praier *Non eſt in noſtra fortitudine* ſaid he, *huic populo reſiſtere*,† it is not in our ſtrength, O Lord, to reſiſt this people, and after his praier God deliuered hym, and at the ſame tyme. x.M. [ten thouſand] were deſtroyed. So ye miſerable people, you muſt go to God in anguyſhes, and make your prayer to hym.

Paralo. xx.

* Give ... glory to the LORD God of Israel.—Josh. vii. 19.

† We have no might against this great company that cometh against us.—2 Chron. xx. 12.

Arme your ſelues wyth prayer in your aduerſities. Manye begyn to praye, and ſodaynelye caſte awaye prayer, the Deuyll putteth ſuche phantaſyes in theyr heades, as thoughe God coulde not entend them, or had ſomewhat els to do.

Many begin to praye, but few perſeuer and contynue in prayer.

But you muſt be importune and not werye, nor caſte awaye prayer. Naye you muſte caſte awaye ſynne. God wyll heare your prayer, albeit, you be ſynners, I ſend you a iudge yat wyll be glad to heare you. You that are oppreſſed, I ſpeake to you. Chriſt in this parable doth painte the good wyl of god towarde you, o miſerable people, he that is not receiued, let him not dyſpayre nor thinke yat god hath forſaken him. For god tarieth tyl he ſeith a time, and better can do al thinges for vs, than we our ſelues can wiſh.

Caste awaye ſynne and then praye.

A notable lesson for him whiche prayeth.

There was a wycked Iudge etc. What meaneth it that God boroweth thys parable rather of a wycked Iudge, then of a good? Bylyke good iudges were rare at that tyme, and trowe ye the deuyll hath bene aſlepe euer ſence? no, no. He is as buſy as euer he was. The commune maner of a wycked Iudge is, neyther to feare god nor man. He conſidereth what a man he is, and therefore he careth not for man bycauſe of hys pride.

The common maner of a wycked Iudge.

He loketh hye ouer the poore, he wyll be hadde in admiration, in adoration. He ſemeth to be in a protection. Well, ſhall he ſcape? Ho, ho, *eſt deus in cælo.** There is a God in heauen, he accepteth no perſones, he wyll puniſhe theim.

Ther was a pore woman came to thys iudge, and ſayd *vindeca me de aduerſario.*† Se that myne aduerſari do me no wronge. He would not heare her but droue her of. She had no money to wage eyther him eyther them that were a boute hym. Dyd thys

* God is in heaven.—*Eccles. v. 2.*

† Avenge me of mine adversary.—Luke xviii. 3—see text at p. 91.

Whether Christian people maye seke to be auenged.

woman wel to be auenged of he ſarye? maye Chriſtyan people ſek aunce? The Lord ſaith. *miki* z *et ego retribuam.** When ye re take myne office vpon you.

Thys is to be vnderſtande of priuate ven It is lawful for goddes flocke to vſe meane awaye wronges, to reſorte to iudges, to re haue ſentence geue of ryght. Saynte Paule Actes .xxii. Liſias the tribune to haue thys remedy, and Chriſte alſo ſayd. *Si male loc etc.*† If I haue ſpoken euyl rebuke me? ch Math. xxvi. anſwered for him ſelf. Note Lordes and maiſters what caſe poore wydo orphanes be in.

I wyll tell you my Lordes Iudges, yt ye thys matter well, ye ſhoulde be more a fray pore wyddowe, then of a noble manne wyt frendes and power that he can make. But now the Iudges be a fraied to heare a poore man

The maner of our Iudges nowe a dayes in hearynge of the pore: against the ryche.

the rych, in ſo muche, they wy pronounce agaynſte hym, or ſo dri poore mannes ſute, that he ſha able to go thorowe wyth it. The man in a realme can not ſo hurte a the poore wyddow, ſuche a ſhrewe ſhe can do him. And with what armure I pr

How god tendreth and regardes the cause of the widdow and the poore.

She can bringe the Iudges ſky hys eares, and neuer lay handes v And how is that? *Lachrimæ m defcendunt ad maxillas* the tear poore fall downe vppon theyr checkes, *Et aſc cælum*, and go vp to heauen, and cry for ve before god, the iudge of wyddowes, the fath widowes and orphanes. Pore people be oppre by lawes. *Væ iis qui condunt leges iniquas.*‡ wo

* Vengeance *is* mine; I will repay, saith the LORD.—Rom. xii. 19.

† *If I have* spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.—John xviii.

‡ Woe unto them tha righteous decrees!—Isa.

them that make euil lawes. If wo be to them yat make laws againſt ye poore, what ſhal be to them yat hynder and mare good laws? *quid facietis in die viſitationis.** What wyl ye do in the daye of vengeaunce, when God wyl viſyt you? He ſayeth, he wyl heare the teares of poore women when he goeth on viſitacion. For theyr ſakes he wyl hurte the Iudge, be he neuer ſo highe. *Deus transfert regna.* He wyll for wyddowes ſakes chaunge Realmes, brynge theym into ſubiection. plucke ye Iudges ſkinnes ouer theyr heades.

Cambiſes was a greate Emperoure, ſuche an other as oure mayſter is, he had many Lorde deputies, Lord preſidentes, and Leutenauntes vnder hym. It is a greate whyle a go ſythe I reade the hyſtory. It chaunced he hadde vnder hym in one of hys dominions a bryber, a gyft taker, a gratifier of rytche men, he folowed gyftes, as faſt as he that folowed the puddynge, a hande maker in hys office, to make his ſonne a great man, as the old ſayinge is, Happye is the chylde, whoſe father goeth to the Deuyll.

Cambiſes.

And old soth say, but thoughe the sayinge be none of the newist I feare me yet it is it one of the trwest.

The crie of the poore widdow came to the Emperours eare, and cauſed him to ſlay the Iudge quycke, and laied his ſkinne in hys chayre of Iudgemente, that all Iudges, that ſhoulde gyue Iudgement afterwarde, ſhoulde ſytte in the ſame ſkinne Surely it was a goodly ſygne, a goodly monument, the ſygne of the Iudges ſkynne, I praye God we maye once ſe the ſygne of the ſkynne in Englande. Ye wyll ſaye peraduenture that thys is cruellye and vncharitablye ſpoken, no, no, I do it charitably for a loue I bere to my contrye. God ſayeth. *Ego viſitabo.*† I wyll viſite. God hath two viſitations. The fyrſte is, when he reueleth

The brybing Iudge was flayed quicke and hys skyn layed in hys chayre.

Amen. onels we pray god we may haue such incorruptible Iudges as wyll not desyre it.

God hath. ii. vysi[t]ations

* What will ye do in the day of visitation?—Isa. x. 3.

† I will visit.—Exod. xxxii. 34.

his word by preachers and where the fyr
cepted, the ſeconde commeth not.

The ſeconde viſitation is vengeance. I
a viſitatyon, when he broughte the iudges ſky
hys eares. If hys worde be diſpiſed he
wyth hys ſeconde viſitation with vengeaunce.

Noe preached Godes worde an. C. yeares and was called a foole for hys labour

Noe preached goddes word
[hundred] yeares, and was la
ſckorne, and called an olde doty
Bycauſe they would not accepte t
viſitation, God viſited the ſecond
poured downe ſhoweres of rayne tyll all the w
drowned.

Genesis xix.

Loth was a viſitour of Sodo
Gomorre, but becauſe they regarded not hy
ynge, God viſited theym the ſeconde tyme, a
theym all vp wyth brymſtone ſauynge Loth.

Exodi: vi.

came fyrſt a viſitation into Egy
goddes word, and becauſe they woulde not h
God viſited them agayne, and drowned they
redde ſea, God lykewyſe with his firſt viſitatio
ye Iſraelits by his prophetes, but becauſe the
not heare his Prophetes, he viſited them the
tyme, and diſperſed them in Aſſiria and Baby

Iohn Baptiſte lykewyſe and oure Sauiour
viſited theym after warde declarynge to then
wyll, and bycauſe they deſpiſed theſe viſi
deſtroyed Hieruſalem by Titus and Veſpaſian

Germany made a myngle mangle of theyr relygion.

Germany was viſited. xx. yea
goddes word, but they dyd not e
embrace it, and in lyfe folowe it,
a myngle mangle and a hotchpot

I can not tell what, partely poperye, part
religion mingeled together. They ſay in my
when they cal theyr hogges to the ſwyne
Come to thy myngle mangle, come pyr, c
euen ſo they made mingle mangle of it.

They couſde clatter and prate of the Go
when all commeth to al, they ioyned popery

ſt, that they marde all together, they ſcratched and ſcraped all the lyuynges of the churche, and vnder a couloure of relygion turned it to theyr owne proper gayne and lucre. God, ſeynge that they woulde not come vnto hys worde, now he viſiteth them in the ſeconde tyme of hys viſitacion with his wrathe. For the takynge awaye of Goddes word, is a manyfeſt token of hys wrath. We haue now a fyrſt viſitacyon in Englande, let vs beware of the ſeconde. We haue the mynyſtracyon of hys worde, we are yet well, but the houſe is not cleane ſwepte yet.

Couetousnes cloked vnder a couloure of religyon amongest the Germaynes prouokyd Goddes wrath toward them

God hath ſente vs A noble Kynge in thys hys vyſytacion, let vs not prouoke hym againſt vs, let vs be ware, lette vs not dyſpleaſe hym, let vs not be vnthanketull, and vnkynde, lette vs be ware of bywalkynge and contemnynge of Gods worde, let vs praye dylygently for our kynge, let vs receyue wyth all obedience and praier, the worde of God. A worde or twoo more and I commyte you to God. I wyll monyſhe you of a thyng. I heare ſaye ye walke inordinatelye, ye talke vnſemelye other wayes then it becommeth Chriſtian ſubiectes.

Godly aduertisementes.

Ye take vpon you to Iudge the Iudgementes of Iudges. I wyll not make the kynge a Pope, for the Pope wyl haue al thynges that he doth, taken for an Article of oure fayth.

I wyl not ſaye but that the kynge, and hys councell maye erre, the Parliamente houſſes both the hyghe and lowe maye erre. I praye dayely that they maye not erre.

It becommeth vs what ſoeuer they decree to ſtande vnto it, and receyue it obedyentlye, as farre forthe as it is not manyfeſte wycked, and dyrectlye agaynſte the woorde of God, it pertayneth vnto vs to thynke the beſte, thoughe we can not tender a cauſe for the doynge of euery thynge.

Let vs learne here our allegyance and duty toward the kynge the lawes and ordinauncys of the Realme.

For *Charitas omnia credit, omnia ſperat.** C
dothe beleue and truſt al thinges. We ou
expounde to the beſte al thynges, althoughe we
not yelde a reaſon.

Therefore I exhorte you good people prono
good parte al the facte and dedes of the magiſtra
iudges. Charyte iudgeth the beſt of al men, a
cyallye of magyſtrates. S. Paule ſayeth. *Noli
care ante tempus donec dominus aduenerit.*† Iu
before the tyme of the lordes commynge. *
cor hominis.*‡ Mans hart is vnſerchable, it is a
pece of worke, no man knoweth hys owne h

Psalm .l. therfore Dauid praieth and ſaieth
cultis meis munda me.§ Delyuer me from my vn
faultes. I am a further offender then I can
man ſhalbe blynded in loue of him ſelf, and
ſo much in him ſelfe as in other men, let vs not
iudge iudges. We are comptable to god, an
they. Let them alone, they haue theyr cou
make. Yf we haue charytie in vs we ſhal do th
Charitas operatur. Charitie worketh. What
it? marye *Omnia credere, omnia ſperare.** to a
thynges in good part. *Nolite iudicare ante tem*

Iudge not before the Lordes commynge.

How Antichriſte is knowen. we learne to know Antichriſt, why
eleuate hym ſelfe in the church
iudgeth at his pleaſure before y
Hys canonizaſions and iudging of men beſ
lordes iudgment, be a manyfeſt token of An
How can he know? Saynctes? He knoweth
owne hart, and he can not knowe then by m
For ſome myracle workers ſhall go to the de
wil tel you what I remembred yeſter nyghte in
A meruaylous tale to perceyue, how inſcrutable
herte is. I was once at Oxford, (for I hadde o
to come that waye, when I was in my offyc

* [Charity] believeth all things, hopeth all things.—1 Cor. xiii. 7.
* *Judge nothing* before the time, *until the Lord* come.—1 Cor. iv. 5.
‡ The heart *is* deceitful above all *things*.—Jer. xvii. 9.
§ Cleanse thou me from *my secret faults*.—Psa. xix. 12.

tolde me it was a gayner way, and a fayrer waye, and by that occaſion I lay ther a nyght. Beyng ther, I hard of an execution that was done vppon one that ſuffered for treaſon. It was as (ye know) a dangerous worlde, for it myghte ſoone coſt a man hys lyfe for awordes ſpeakynge. what he saw and harde once at Oxforde.

I can not tel what the matter was, but the iudge ſet it ſo out that the man was condemned. The. xii. men came in, and ſayed gyltye, and vpon that, he was iudged to be hanged, drawen, and quartred. When the rope was about hys necke, no man coulde perſwade hym that he was in anye faute, and ſtoode there a great whyle in the proteſtation of his innocency. They hanged hym and cut him down ſomwhat to ſoone afore he was cleane deade, then they drewe hym to the fyre, and he reuiued, and then he commyng to his remembraunce confeſſed his faute, and ſayed he was gylty. O a wonderful example, it may well be ſayed. *prauum cor hominis et inſcrutabile.** A crabbed pece of worke and vnſercheable. I wyll leue here, for I thinke you know what I meane wel ynough.

I ſhal not neede to applye thys example any further. As I began euer with thys ſaying *quæcunque ſcripta ſunt*,† like a trouant and ſo I haue a commune place to the ende, yf my memory fayle me, *Beati qui audiunt verbum dei, et cuſtodiunt illud.*‡ Bleſſed be they that here the word of god, and kepe it. It muſt be kepte in memory, in lyuynge, and in our conuerſacion. An yf we ſo do, we ſhal come to the bleſſednes, whych God prepared for vs thorow his ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, to ye which he bring vs all.

Amen.

* The heart *is* deceitful above all *things*, and desperately wicked. —Jer. xvii. 9.

† Rom. xv. 4.

‡ Luke xi. 28.

¶ The fourth Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer, whych he prached before the kynges Maieſtye within hys Graces Palaice at Weſtminſter the xxix. daye of Marche.

*Vœcumque ſcripta ſunt, ad noſtram doctrinam ſcripta ſunt.** All thinges yat are wrytten, are written, to be our doctrine. The Parable that I toke to begin with (moſt honorable audience) is wrytten in the. xviii. chapter of S. Luke. and ther is a certayne remnant of it behind yet. The Parable is this There was a certayne Iudge in a cytye, that feared neyther God nor man.

And in the ſame cytye there was a wyddowe that requyred Iuſtyce at hys handes, but he woulde not heare hyr, but putte hyr of and delayed the matter.

In proceſſe the Iudge ſeynge hyr importunitye, ſayed, thoughe I feare neyther God nor manne, yet for the importunitye of the womanne, I wyll heare hyr leaſte ſhe rayle vpon me, and moleſte me wyth exclamations, and oute cryes I wyll heare hyr matter, I wyll make an ende of it.

Oure Sauyoure Chriſte added more vnto thys and ſayed. *Audite quid iudex dicat. et. cetera.* Heare you ſayed Chriſt, what the wycked Iudge ſayed.

And ſhall not God reuenge hys electe, that crye vpon hym daye and nyghte? Al thoughe he tarye and dyfferre theym, I ſay vnto you, he wyll reuenge

* Rom. xv. 4.

them and that ſhortelye. But when the ſonne of manne ſhall come, ſhall he fynd fayth in the earth.*

That I maye haue grace ſo to open the remnaunte of thys parable that it maye be to the glorye of God, and edifiynge of youre ſoules, I ſhall deſier you to praye. In the whyche prayer. etc.

I ſhewed you the laſte daye, (mooſte honourable Audience) the cauſe why oure Sauioure Chriſte, rather vſed the example of a wycked Iudge then of a good.

Why Christ vsyd rather the example of a wycked Iudge, then of a good.

And the cauſe was for that in thoſe dayes ther was greate plentye of wycked Iudges, ſo that he myght borrowe an example amonge theym well ynoughe. For there was muche ſcarſitie of good Iudges. I did excuſe the wyddowe alſo for commynge to the Iudge agaynſte her aduerſary, becauſe ſhe dyd it not of malyce, ſhe dyd it not for appetite of vengeaunce.

A breſe reherſal of thyngs toched and ſpoken of, in hys thyrde ſermon.

And I tolde you that it was good and lawefull, for honeſte vertuoſe folke, for Gods people, to vſe the lawes of the realme, as an ordinari helpe agai[n]ſt theyr aduerſaryes, and oughte to take them as Gods holy ordinaunces, for the remedies of theyr iniuryes and wronges, when they are diſtreſſed. So that they do it charitiablye louyngelye, not of malyce, not vengeably, not couetouſlye.

He meanyth the Annabaptyſtes, for thys is one of theyr deteſtable and perniciouse errores.

I ſhould haue tolde you here of a certayne ſecte of heritikes that ſpeake agaynſte thys order and doctryne, they wyll haue no magiſtrates nor Iudges on the earthe.

Here I haue to tell you, what I hearde of late by the relation of a credible perſon, and a worſhypful man, of a towne in thys realme of Englande that hathe aboue. v. C. [five hundred] heritykes of thys erroniouſe

* And the Lord said, Hear what the unjust judge saith.
And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day *and night* unto him, *though he bear long with them?*
I tell you that he will avenge them speedily. Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?—Luke xviii. 6—8.

Howe busye the Deuyl is to hynder the worde and ſclaunder the goſpel.

opinion in it as he ſayed. Oh ſo buſye the Deuyll is nowe to hynder the woorde commynge oute, and to ſclaunder the Goſpell. A ſure argumente and an euydent demonſtration, that the lyght of Gods worde is a brode, and that thys is a true doctryne

The deuyl is busy sturring is an euident argument that thys doctryne is true.

that we are taught now, elſe he woulde not rore and ſtyrre a boute as he doeth whan he hathe the vpper hande. He wyl kepe hys poſſeſſion quyetly as he dyd in the popyſhe dayes, whan he bare a rule of ſupremacye in peaceable poſſeſſion. If he reygned now in open relygyon, in open doctryne as he dyd than, he woulde not ſtyrre vppe erronyouſe opynyons, he woulde haue kepte vs wythout contencion, wythoute dyſſencion. There is no ſuche dyuerſytie of opynions amonge the Turkes, nor among ye Iewes And why? For ther he raygneth peaceably in the hole relygion. Chriſt ſayth. *Cum fortis armatus cuſtodierit atrium. etc.** Whan the ſtronge armid mán kepeth thys houſe, thoſe thinges yat he hath in po[ſſ]eſſion, are in a quietnes, he doeth enioye them peaceably. *Sed cum fortior eo ſuperuenerit.** But whan a ſtronger than he commeth vpon hym, whan the light of goddes word is ones reueled, than he is buſi, then he rores then he fyſkes a brode, and ſtyrreth vp erronius opinions, to ſclaunder godds word. And thys is an argumente that we haue the true doctryne. I beſ[e]che God continewe vs and kepe vs in it. The dyuell declareth the ſame, and therfore he rores thus and goeth a bout to ſtir vp theſe wanton headdes and buſye braynes. And wyll you knowe where thys towne is? I wyll not tell you dyrectlye. I wyll put you to muſe a lyttle. I wyll vtter the matter by a cyrcumlocution. Wher is it? Wher the byſhop of the dioces is an vnpreachynge prelate. Who is that? If there be but one

* When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace: But when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils.—Luke xi. 21, 22.

ſuche in al England, it is eaſi to geſſe. And if ther were no mo but one, yet it were to many by one. And yf there be moe, they haue the more to aunſwere for, that they ſuffer in this realme an vnpreachynge prelacye vnreſourmed. I remember wel what. S. Paule ſayeth to a byſhop. And thoughe he ſpake it to Timothe beynge a byſhop, yet I may ſay it now to the magiſtrates, for al is one caſe, al is one matter. *Non communicabis peccatis alienis.** Thou ſhalt not be partaker of other mennes faultes. Laye not thy handes raſhely vpon anye, be not to haſty in makynge of curates, in receyuynge menne to haue cure of Soules that are not worthye of the offyce, that eyther, canne not or wyl not, do theyr dutye. Do it not. Whye? *quia communicabis Peccatis alienis.** Thou ſhalt be partaker of other mennes ſinnes. Nowe methinke it nedes not to be partaker of other mens ſinnes we ſhal find inough of our owne. And what is *Communicare peccatis alienis.** To be partaker of other mennes euils, if this be not, to make vnpreachynge prelates, and to ſuffer them to continue ſtil in their vnpreachynge pr[e]lacye? 1 Timothe. v.

If the kynge and hys councel ſhould ſuffer euil Iudges of this realme to take bribes, to defeate iuſtice and ſuffer the great, to ouer go the poore, and ſhoulde loke through his fingers, and wynke at it, ſhould not the kinge be partaker of theyr naughtynes? And why? Is he not ſupreme head of the church? what? is ye ſupremacye a dygnytye and nothynge elſe? is it not a dygnitye wyth a charge? is it not comptable? I thynke it wylbe a chargeable dygnitye whan accompte ſhal be aſked of it. Oh what a vauntage hath the Deuyll? what entrye hath the wolfe whan the ſhepard tendeth not hys flocke, and leades theym not to good paſture? Saynt Paule doth ſay *qui bene præſunt preſ-* 1 Timothe. v.

Kynges and rulars muste wake and not wynke and leaue lokyng thorow theyr fyngers.

A dignitie wyth a charge.

* Neither be partaker of other men's sins.—1 Tim. v. 22.

*biteri duplici honore digni ſunt.** What is thys *Præeſſe.* It is as much to ſay as to take charge and cure of ſoules we ſay *ille præeſt*, he is ſette ouer the flocke. He hath taken charge vppon hym. And what is *Bene Præeſſe*? To diſcharge ye cure. To rule well, to fede the flocke wyth pure foode, and good example of lyfe. Well then, *qui bene præſunt duplici honore digni ſunt.**

To rule wel what it is.

What is double honour

Thei yat diſcharge their cure wel are worthy duble honour? What is thys duble honour? The fyrſt is reuerenſed, to be had in eſtimacion and reputacion with the people, and to be regarded as good paſtours. A nother honoure is, to haue al thynges neceſſarye for their ſtate, myniſtred vnto theym. Thys is the double honour that they ought to haue. *Qui præſunt Bene*, that diſcharge the cure if they do it *Bene.*

The merye monke of Cambryge.

There was a merye moncke in Cambryge in the Colledge that I was in, and it chaunced a greate companye of vs to be together, entendynge to make good cheare, and to be merye (as ſcholers wyll be mery when they are diſpoſed). One of the company brought out thys ſentence. *Nil melius quam lætari et facere bene.* There is nothyng better then to be mery and to do well. A vengeaunce of that *Bene* (quod the Monke) I would that, *Bene* had bene baniſhed beyonde the ſea, and that *Bene* were out, it were well. For I coulde be mery, and I coulde do, but I loue not to do well, that *Bene* marres altogether. I woulde *bene* were out quod the mery monke for it importeth many thynges to lyue well, to dyſcharge the cure. In dede it were better for them yf it were out. And it were as good to be out as to be ordered as it is. It wyll be a heuy *Bene* to ſome of them, when they ſhall come to theyr accompt. But paraduenture you wyll ſaye What and they preache not at all? Yet *præſunt.* Are they not worthye double

* *Let the* elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour.—1 Tim. v. 17.

honoure? is it not an honorable ordre they be in? naye a horible miſorder, it is a horror rather then an honoure, and horrible, rather then honourable, if the preacher be naughte, and do not hys dutye. And thus go theſe prelates aboute to wreaſtle for honoure that the Deuyll maye take hys pleaſuer in ſclaunderynge the realme, and that it maye be reported abrode that we breede, heriſyes amonge oure ſelues. It is to be thoughte that ſome of them woulde haue it ſo, to bring in poperye agayne.

Where the preacher doth not hys duty, ther the order is not honorable, but horryble.

The entente of vnpreachyng prelates.

This I feare me is theyr entente, And it ſhalbe blowen abrode to oure holye father ot Romes eares, and he ſhall ſende forth hys thonderboltes vpon theſe brutes, and al thys dothe come to paſſe thorow theyr vnpreachynge prelacye.

Are they not worthy double honore? Nay, rather double dyſhonore, not to be regarded, not to be eſtemed amonge the people, and to haue no liuynge at their handes? For as good preachers be worthy double honour: ſo vnpreaching prelates be worthy double diſhonoure: They muſte be at theyr doublets. But now theſe. ii. diſhonoures, what be they? Our ſauiour chriſt doth ſhew. *Si ſal infatuatus fuerit ad nihil ultra valet, niſi vt* Math. v. *proiiciatur foras** If the ſalte be vnſauerye it is good for nothinge, but to be caſt out and troden of men. By thys ſalte is vnderſtande preachers, and ſuch as haue cure of ſoules. What be they worthye then? wherfore ſerue they? For nothing elles but to be caſte oute. Make them quondammes, out with them, caſt them out of ther office, what ſhuld thei do with cure yat wil not loke to them? An other diſhonor is this. *Vt conculcentur ab hominibus.** To be troden under mens fete, not to be regarded, not to be eſtemed. They be at theyr doublets ſtyl. S. Paule in hys epiſtle qualifyeth a biſhop, and ſaith that he muſt be

An argument of congruens

* Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thence forth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.—Matt. v. 13.

Aptus ad docendum, ad refellendum apte[*]
and to confute all maner of falſe doctryn
ſhall a man do wyth aptenes, if he do n
were as good for vs to be wyth out it.

A byshop angrye wyth M. Latimer and why: because he wolde haue the kynge make of vnprechinge prelates quondammes, dominus regnauit.

came to me the laſte daye, a
wyth me for a certayne Se
made in thys place.† Hys cha
complayned agaynſte me b
ſpoken agaynſte vnpreaching
Naye quod the byſhoppe,
indifferente a Sermon the fy
I thoughte he woulde marre a
daye.† He wyll haue euerye man a
he is, As for my quondamſhyp I thancke
gaue me ye grace to come by it by ſo hone
I dyd. I thanke hym for myne owne quo
and as for them I wyll not haue theym
dams yf they dyſcharge theyr offyce. I
theym do theyr dutye. I woulde haue n
dams as God healpe me. I owe the
malyce then thys, and that is none at al.

The bishops answere to his chaplayn.

Thys byſhop anſwered hy
well (ſayes he) well I dyd w
for as I was goynge to hy
remembred me that I had neither ſaye
mattens. And homewarde I gate me

A wyse answere of may ster byshop to hys chaplayne.

coulde, and I thanke god
both, and let hys vnfruteful S
Vnfruiteful ſayeth one, an
ſedicious. Wel, vnfruitfull
and whether it be vnfruitfull or no, I ca
lyeth not in me to make it fruitfull. An

Preachers ar Gods instrumentes.

not in your hertes: my pre
do you but lyttle good. I
inſtrument but for a time.
muſt giue the encreaſe, and yet preachyn
For take a waye preachyng, and ta
cion. I tould you of *Scala cœli* and I

* Apt to teach.—1 Tim. iii. 2. † The se

ynge matter, not a maſſyng matter. Chriſt is the preacher of al preachers, the patrone and the exemplar, [t]hat all preachers oughte to folowe. For it was he by whome the father of heauen ſayde: *Hic eſt Filius meus dilectus, ipſum audite.** Thys is my welbeloued ſonne, heare hym, Euen he when he was here on the earth, as wyſely, as learnedlye, as circumſpectli as he preached, yet hys ſede ſell in thre partes ſo that the fourthe parte onelye was fruiteful, and yf he had no better lucke that was preacher of all preachers, what ſhall we looke for? yet was ther no lacke in hym, but in the grounde: And ſo now ther is no fault in ye preachynge, the lacke is in the people that haue ſtony hertes and thorny hartes. I beſeche God to amend them. And as for theſe folke that ſpeake againſt me, I neuer loke to haue theyr goode worde as longe as I lyue. Yet wyll I ſpeak of their wickednes, as long as I ſhalbe permytted to ſpeake As longe as I lyue, I wyl be an enemy to it. No preachers can paſſe it ouer wyth ſylence. It is the originall roote of all myſchiefe. As for me I owe them no other yll wyll, but I praye God amende theym, when it pleaſeth him. Now to the parable. What dyd the wycked Iudge in the ende of the tale? The loue of god moued hym not, the lawe of god was this, and it is written in the fyrſt of Deuteronomye. *Audite eos.*† Heare them. Theſe two wordes wylbe heuye wordes to wycked iudges another daye. But ſome of them peraduenture wyl ſay. I wyl heare them, but I wil heare ſuche as wyl geue brybes, and theſe that wyl do me good tournes. Naye ye be hedged out of that lybertye. He ſayth, *Ita paruum vt magnum.*† The ſmalle as well as the greate. Ye must do *iuſtum*, deale

Thoughe Christe preachyd, yet his sede fell into thre partes

He returneth to the Parable.

Deuteronomye. 1.

* This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.—Matt. xvii. 5.

† Ye shall not respect persons in judgment; *but* ye shall hear the small as *well as the great*; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment *is* God's: and the cause is too hard for you, bring *it* unto me, and I will hear it.—Deut. i. 17.

Iuſtelye? myniſter iuſtice, and that to al men, and you muſte do it *iuſte*. In tyme conuenient, wythout any delayes, or dryuynge of, wyth expedycion.

Iustice muste be ministered without delays.

Well, I ſaye, neyther thys lawe, nor the woorde and commaundemente of God moued thys wycked Iudge, nor the myſerye of thys wyddowe, nor the vpryghteouſnes of hys cauſe, nor the wronge whyche ſhe tooke, moued hym, but to auoyde importunitie, and clamoure, and exclamation, he gaue hyr the hearynge, he gaue hyr fynall ſentence, and ſo ſhe hadde hyr requeſte.

What moued the wicked iudge to heare the complaynt of the wydowe.

Thys place of Iudgement it hathe bene euer vnperfecte, it was neuer ſene that all Iudges dyd theyr dutye, that they woulde heare the ſmall as well as the greate. I wyll not proue thys by the wytnes of anye pryuate maieſtrate, but by the wyſeſte Kynges ſavinge that euer was. *vidi ſub ſole*, ſaith Salomon *In loco iuſticiæ, impietatem, et in loco æquitatis iniquitatem.** I haue ſene vnder the ſunne, that is to ſay, ouer al, in euery place wher ryght iudgement ſhoulde haue bene, wickednes, as who ſhould ſaye bribes takinge, defeatynge of iuſtice, oppreſſing of the pore Men ſent away with wepynge teares, wythout anye hearinge of their cauſes, and in the place of equitie ſayth he: I haue ſene iniquity. No equity. No iuſtice a ſore worde for Salomon to pronounce vniuerſallye, generallye, and if Salomon ſayd it, there is a matter in it.

All iudges haue not done dutye at all tymes.

The lacke of ministration of Iustice what Salomon dyd se in his time in Iudges

☞ I wene he ſayed it not onely for hys owne tyme, but he ſawe it both in thoſe that were before hym, and alſo that were to come after hym.

Nowe comes Eſay and he affyrmeth ye ſame ſpeaking of the iudgementes done in hys time in the commune place as it myghte be Weſtminſter hall, the gylde hall, the Iudges hall, the pretory houſe.

* And moreover I saw under the *sun the place* of judgment, *that wickedness was* there; and the place of righteousness, *that* iniquity *was* there.—Eccles. iii. 16.

Call it what you wyll. In ye open place. For iudges at that tyme (accordynge to the maner) ſate in the gates ot the cytye in the hye waye.

Iudges ſate in the gates of the cyty in the hye way.

A goodly and Godly order for to ſitte, ſo that the poore people maye eaſely come to them. But what ſayeth Eſay that ſeditiouſe fellowe? He ſayeth of hys countrey this. *Expectaui ut faceret iuditium, et fecit iniquitatem.** I loked the iudges ſhould do theyr dutye, and I ſaw them woorke iniquitie.

Thys was done for the ease of ye people, for maiestrates must be indued with affabilitye.

Ther was brybes walking, money makynge, makynge of handes (quod the Prophete) or rather almyghtye God by the Prophete, ſuche is theyre parcialitye, affection, and brybes. They be ſuche money makers, inhauncers, and promoters of them ſelues.

There was bribes and bribers as wel then as nowe.

Eſaye knewe thys by the cryynge of the people. *Ecce clamor populi.** ſayeth he. And thoughe ſome amonge theym be vnreaſonoble people (as manye be nowe adayes) yet no doubte of it ſome cryeth not wythoute a cauſe. And why? Theyr matters are not hearde, they are ſayne to go home with weping teares, that fal downe by theyr chekes, and aſcende vp to heauen and crye for vengeaunce. Let Iudges loke about them, for ſurelye God wyll reuenge hys elect one daye.

The teares of the pore whoſe cause is not accordinge to equity and iuſtice herd, cry for vengeaunce to God.

And ſurelye me thynke, yf a Iudge woulde followe but a worldelye reaſon, and wey the matter politikelye, wythoute theſe examples of ſcrypture, he ſhould feare more the hurt that maye be done hym by a poore wyddowe, or a myſerable man, then by the greateſt Gentyll man of them al. God hath pulled the iudges ſkines ouer their heades, for the pore manns ſake yea, the pore wyddowe maye do hym more hurt wyth hyr poo

An aduertiſement to our Iudges.

* He looked for judgment, but behold oppression; for righteouſneſs but behold a cry.—Iſa. v. 7.

pater noſter in hyr mouth, then any other weapon, and wyth. ii. or thre wordes ſhall bryng hym downe to the grounde, and deſtroye his iolitye, and cauſe hym to loſe more in one day, then he gate in ſeuen yeres, for God wyll reuenge theſe miſerable folkes, that can not helpe them ſelues. He ſayth. *Ego in die viſitationis etc.** In the daye of viſitation I wyll reuenge theym? *An non vlciſcetur anima mea?*† Shall not my ſoule be reuenged? As who ſhoulde ſaye,

I muſt nedes take theyr part. *Veniens veniam et non tardabo.*‡

Yes though I tary, and though I ſeme to linger neuer ſo longe yet I wyl come at lengthe, and that ſhortely.

And is god ſpake this, he wil perfourme his promiſe. He hath for theyr ſakes as I tolde you, pulled the ſkynne ouer the iudges ears or thys.

Dauid was deceyued in putting trust in his iudges when he waxed olde him ſelfe.

Kynge Dauid truſted ſome in hys olde age, that dyd hym no very good ſeruice.

Nowe if in the people of God there were ſome folkes that fell to brybing, then what was ther amonge the Heathen?

Abſalon was a bywalker.

Abſalon Dauids ſonne was a bywalker, and made a diſturbaunce among the people in his fathers tyme.

And thoughe he were a wycked man and a bywalker, yet ſome there were in that tyme that were good, and walked vpryghtlye.

I ſpeake not thys agaynſte the Iudges ſeate. I ſpeake not as though all iudges were naught, and as though I dyd not holde wyth the Iudges, maieſtrates, and offycers, as the Anabaptiſtes theſe faulſe herytykes do. But I Iudge them honorable,

Iudges are honorable necessary, and Gods ordinaunces concerning theyr offices.

neceſſary, and Goddes ordinaunce. I ſpeake it as ſcripture ſpeaketh to giue a *Caueat* and a warnynge to all maieſtrates, to cauſe theym to loke to theyr offyces, for the deuyll, the greate maieſtrate, is

* Isa. x. 3.

† Shall I not visit for these *things? saith the* LORD: shall not my soul be *avenged on such* a nation as this?—*Jer. v. 29.*

‡ Though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry.—Hab. ii. 3.

He that shall come will come, and will not tarry.—Heb. x. 37.

verye buſy nowe, he is euer doynge, he neuer ceaſeth to go about to make them like hymſelfe. The prouerbe is. *Simile gaudet ſimili.* Lyke woulde haue lyke: If the iudg be good and vpryght he wyll aſſaye to deceaue hym eyther by the ſubtyll ſuggeſtion of crafty lawyers or els by falſe wytneſſe, and ſubtyl vtterynge of a wronge matter. He goeth about as much as he can to corrupt the men of lawe, to make them fal to brybery, to laye burdens on poore mennes backes, and to make them fal to periurye, and to bryng into the place of iudgement al corruption, iniquytie, and impietie. I haue ſpoken thus much, to occaſyon al Iudges and maieſtrates to loke to theyr offyces. They had nede to loke about them.

The craft of the deuyll.

This geare moued ſaint Chriſoſtome to ſpeake thys ſentence. *Miror ſi. aliquis rectorum poteſt ſaluari.* I maruaile (ſaied this doctoure) if anye of theſe rulers or great maieſtrates can be ſaued.

Lest the deuil be behynd them to make them peruerte Iuſtice.

A notable and bolde saying of Chriſoſtome.

He ſpake it not for the impoſſibilitie of the thynge (God forbyd that all the maieſtrates and iudges ſhoulde be condempned) but for the difficultye.

Oh that a man myghte haue the contemplation of hell, that the deuyll woulde alowe a man to loke into hel, to ſe the ſtate of it, as he ſhewed al ye world when he tempted Chriſt, in the wyldernes. *Commonſtrat illi omnia regna mundi.** He ſhewed him al the kyngedomes of the worlde, and all theyr iolitye, and tolde hym that he woulde gyue hym all, if he woulde knele downe and worſhyp hym. He lyed lyke a faulſe harlot, he could not gyue theim he was not able to giue ſo much as a goſe wynge: for they were none of hys to gyue.

If the deuyll wold allowe a man to loke into hel what he should se.

Math. iiii.

The tother that he promyſed them vnto: had more ryghte to them then he.

* Sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of

But I saye if one were admitted to vie
and beholde it thorowly, and the deuyll

Vnpreching prelates are wyth the deuyll in hell God saue vs, but they be not there alone, for brybynge Iudges are wyth theim for companye.

On yonder syde are punished
prelates, I thynke a man should
as a kennyng and se nothyn
preachynge Prealates.

He returneth to hys former matter.

He myghte loke as farre
warrant you. And then if he
the other side, and shewe whe
ynge iudges were, I thynke
so many, that there were scan
any other. Our Lord amend
to our matter. This Iudge
said. Though I feare neyther God, no
And did he thynke as he sayed? Dyd he th
Is it ye maner of wicked Iudges to co
faultes nay he thought not so.

And a man had come to hym, and
wycked, he woulde forth wyth haue comm
to ward, he woulde haue defended hym se

Whi the iudge was forsed then to confesse his faultes.

It was god that spake in hys
God putteth hym to vtter su
as he sawe in hys herte, and
to hym selfe.

And there be lyke thynges in ye scriptu
*insipiens in corde suo non est deus.** The
sayd in his hert, there is no God, and yet
haue bene asked the question, he would ha
Esay the prophet sayeth also. *mendatio pro*
We are defended with lyes. We haue put ou
And in an other place he saieth. *Ambul*
tate cordis mei.‡ I wyll walke in the wyck
herte. He vttereth what lyeth in hys
knowne to hym selfe, but to God.

Ezechiel described the herte of man.

It was not for noughte th
describeth mannes hert in

* The fool hath said in his heart, *There is* no God.—Psa. xiv. 1.
† We have made lies our refuge.—Isa. xxviii. 15.
‡ Every one imaginations o xxiii. 17.

*rauum cor hominis et inſcrutabile.** The herte of man is naughti, a croked, and froward pece of worke.

Iere. xvii. Among al thinges man hath.

Let euery man humble hym ſelfe, and acknowledge hys fault? and do as ſaynte Paule dyd.

When the people to whome he had preached, had ſayed manye thynges in his commendation, yet he durſt not iuſtify him ſelfe. Paule woulde not prayſe hym ſelfe to hys owne iuſtification, and therfore when they hadde ſpoken theſe thynges by him I paſſe not all ſayth he, what ye ſaye by me. I wyl not ſtande to your reporte, and yet he was not froward, that when he heard the trueth reported of hym, he woulde ſaye it to be falſe, but he ſayed, I wyll neyther ſtande to your reporte, though it be good and iuſte, neyther yet I wyl ſay that it is vntrue. He was. *Bonus Paſtor.*

Paule durst not iustifye hym selfe.

A good ſhepeheard. He was one of theym. *qui bene præſunt.*† that dyſcharged hys cure, and yet he thoughte that there myghte be a further thynge in hym ſelfe then he ſawe in him ſelfe.

And therefore he ſayed. The Lorde ſhall Iudge me. I wyll ſtand onely to the Iudgemente of the Lord. For loke whom he iudges to be good, he is ſure he is ſafe, he is cocke ſure.

I ſpake of thys geare the laſte day, and of ſome I had little thanke for my laboure. I ſmelled ſome folkes that were greaued with me for it, becauſe I ſpak againſt temerarious iudgement? What hath he to do with iudgmente? ſay they. I went about to kepe you from arrogant iudgmente. Wel I could haue ſayed more then I dyd, and I can ſaye muche more nowe.

The truth gettes hatred.

For why? I knowe more of my Lorde admirals death ſith that tyme, then I did knowe before. O ſaye they. The man dyed very boldly, he woulde not haue done ſo, hadde he not bene in a iuſte quarell.

* The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked.— Jer. xvii. 9.

† That rule well.— 1 Tim. v. 3.

The argument of ſuch men as thought the Lord admirals cauſe to be good, bicause he toke hys death ſo boldli is confuted.

Thys is no good argument my frendes. A man ſemeth not to feare death, therfore hys can ſe his good. Thys is a deceauable argumente. He went to hys death boldely, *ergo* he ſtandeth in a iuſt quarel.

The Anabaptiſtes howe thei toke their death.

The Anabaptiſtes that were brente here in dyuers townes in England, as I heard of credible menne (I ſawe them not my ſelfe) went to theyr death, euen *Intrepide*. As ye wyll ſaye with out any feare in the world chearfully. Well, let them go.

The Donatiſtes howe they dyed

There was in the olde doctoures tymes an other kinde of poyſoned heretikes, that were called Donatiſtes. And theſe heritikes wente to their execution as thoughe they ſhould haue gone to ſome iolye recreation or banket, to ſome bealye chere, or to a play. And wyll ye argue then? He goeth to hys death boldely, or chearefullye, Ergo he dyeth in a iuſte cauſe Naye that ſequell foloweth no more then thys.

A man ſemes to be a frayed of death, Ergo he dyeth euyl. And yet oure Sauioure Chriſte was a frayed of death him ſelfe.

Iudge not them in authority rashly. etc.

I warne you therefore, and charge you not to iudge theym yat be in authoritie, but to praye for them. It becometh vs not to Iudge greate maieſtrates, nor to condemne theyr doinges, vnleſſe theyr dedes be openly and apparantlye wycked. Charitye requireth the ſame, for charitye iudgeth no man, but well of euery bodye. And thus we maye trye whether wee haue charitye or no, and if we haue not charitye wee are not Gods diſciples, for they are knowen by that badge He that is hys diſciple, hath the worcke of charity in hys breaſt.

Charite is the cognisaunce & badg of a christen man.

It is a worthye ſayinge of a clarke. *Charitas ſi eſt, operatur, ſi non operatur, non eſt.* If there be charity it worketh, *Omnia crede re, omnia ſperare.** To beleue

* Believeth all things, hopeth all things.—1 Cor. xiii. 7.

all thinges, to hope al, to ſay ye beſt of the maieſtrates, and not to ſtand to the defending of a wicked matter. I wil go farder with you now. If I ſhould haue ſayed al that I knewe, youre eares woulde haue yrked, to haue hearde it, and nowe God hathe brought more to lyghte. And as touchyng the kynde of hys death, whether he be ſaued or no, I referre that to God onely. What God can do, I can tell. I wyl not denye but that he maye in the twynkeling of an eye, ſaue a man, and turne hys herte. What he dyd I can not tell. And when a man hathe two ſtrokes wyth an axe, whoo can tel that betwene two ſtrokes he doth repente. It is very hard to iudge Well, I wyll not go ſo nye to worke, but thys I wyl ſay, if thei aſke me what I thinke of hys deathe, that he dyed verye daungerouſly, yrkeſomelye, horryblye.

M. L. said not all yat he knew concernynge the lord admiralles cause.

The man beyng in the tower wrote certayne papers whyche I ſawe my ſelfe. Thei were two lyttle ones, one to my Ladye Maryes grace, and an other to my Ladye Elizabethe grace, tendynge to thys ende, that they ſhoulde conſpyre a gaynſte my Lorde protectours grace.

The. ii. lyttle papers which the Lorde admiral wrote in the tower.

Surely ſo ſeditiouſli as could be. Nowe what a kind of death was thys, that when he was readye to laye his head vpon the blocke, he turnes me to the leuetenauntes ſeruaunte and ſayeth.

Byd my ſeruaunte ſpede the thynge that he wottes of? Wel, the worde was ouer heard.

The wordes he spake to ye leuitenauntes seruaunt

Hys ſeruaunte confeſſed theſe two Papers, and they were founde in a ſhooe of hys. They were ſowen betwene the ſoules of a veluet ſhooe. He made his ynke ſo craftely, and wyth ſuch workemanſhip as the lyke hath not bene ſene.

I was priſoner in the tower miſelfe, and I coulde neuer inuente to make ynke ſo. It is a wonder to heare of hys ſubtilitie. He made hys pen of the aglet of a poynte that he plucked from hys hoſe, and thus wrote theſe letters

The penne of the aglet of a poynt.

foo ſeditiouſlye, as ye haue hearde, enfo
matters agaynſte my Lorde protectours g
forth. God had leſte hym to him ſelfe
cleane forſaken hym. What woulde he h
he had liued ſtyll? that wente a bout this g
he layed hys head on the blocke at the e
lyfe. Charitye (they ſaye) worketh but
after thys ſorte. Well, he is gone, he kn
fare by thys, he is eyther in ioye or in pay

There is but two states. The state of saluacion and the stateofdamnation.

is but two ſtates if we be once go
is no chaunge. Thys is the
the ſcripture. *vbicunque lignu*
ibi erit, ſiue in auſtrum, ſiue in aq
Whereſoeuer the tree falleth,
the ſouthe, or into the north, there it ſhall

By the fallynge of the tree, is ſignifyed th
man. If he fall into the Southe, he ſhall b

☞ For the Southe is hote, and
charitye or ſaluation. If he fall in the no
colde of infidelity, he ſhal be dampned.
but two ſtates, the ſtate of ſaluation, and t
damnation.

Ther is no repentaunce after thys lyfe
dye in the ſtate of dampnation, he ſhal riſe i
Yea, thoughe he haue a whole Monkery
for hym. He ſhall haue hys fynall Sentenc
dyeth.

The seruaunt which vttered the secretes, of the two letters is commendid of M. L.

And that ſeruaunte of hys, tha
and vttered thys gere was an hon
He dyd honeſtlye in it. God
hys herte. And as for the t
ther he be ſaued or no I leaue
But ſurelye, he was a wycked man, the
well rydde of hym.

It hathe a treaſure, that he is gone. H
hys ſare by thys.

A terrible example ſuerlye, and to be
man. Nowe before he ſhoulde dye,

* If the tree fall toward the south, where the tre
or toward the north, in the place be.—Eccles.

had commendations to the kynge, and ſpake manye wordes of hys maieſtye. All is the kynge, the Kynge. Yea *Bona verba.* Theſe were fayre wordes the kynge, the kyng. I was trauailed in the tower my ſelfe (wyth the kynges commaundemente, and the counſayle) and there was ſyr Roberte Cunſtable, the Lorde Huſſye, the Lord Darſy. And the Lorde Darſye, was tellynge me of the fayethfull ſeruice that he hadde done the kynges maieſtye that dead is. And I had ſene my Soueraygne Lorde in the fylde (ſayd he) and I had ſene hys grace come a gaynſte vs. I woulde haue lyghted from my horſſe, and taken my ſwerde by the poynt, and yelded it into hys graces handes. Mary quod I but in the meane ſeaſon ye played not the parte of a fayethfull ſubiecte in holdynge wyth the people in a commotion, and a diſturbaunce. It hath bene the caſt of al traytours to pretend nothing agaynſte the kynges perſon, they neuer pretende the matter to the kynge, but to other.

The lorde admiral had commendations to the kynge before hys death.

What the Lord Darsye sayed to maister Latimer in ye tower.

The commune cast of al traytours.

Subiectes maye not reſyſte anye magiſtrates, nor oughte to do nothynge contraye to the kynges lawes. And therefore theſe wordes, the kyng and ſo forth, are of ſmalle effecte. I heard̃e once a tale of a thinge yat was done at Oxforde. xx. yeres a go, and the lyke hath bene ſence in thys realme as I was enformed of credible perſons, and ſome of them that ſawe it be alyue yet.

The offyce and duty of subiectes.

A thing yat happened at Oxforde.

There was a prieſte that was robbed of a greate ſome of money, and there were. ii. or. iii. attached for the ſame robbery and to be bryefe were condemned and broughte to the place of execution. The fyrſte manne, when he was vpon the ladder denied the matter vtterly, and toke his death vpon it that he neuer conſented to the robbery of the prieſte nor neuer knew of it. When he was deade, the ſeconde felowe commeth and maketh

A priest robbed of a greate summe of money.

his proteſtation and acknoweleged the
that among other greuouſe offences tha
he was acceſſary to thys robberye and ſay
my parte of it, I crye God mercy ſo ha
that dyed before me hys parte. Now
whether thys felow dyed wel or no? V

It is hard to iudge a mans herte.

a mans herte? The one d
ter, and the tother confeſſe
Iudgynge of ſuche matters.
muche wyckednes of thys manne, and
oft, Ieſu, what wyl worth, what wyl
thys man?

When I was wyth the byſhop of
warde (I was not ſo wyth hym, bu
might come to me, and talke wyt

☞ The byſhoppes beſtirred theym ſo then, that ſome of theim were neuer ſo diligent ſythe.

deſirous to heare of exec
ther was eueri weke, ſome
the citye or other) for there
ſeſſions at newgate, and fo
ſions at the Marſhialſhy, a

I was deſirous I ſaie to heare of exe
I loked that my part ſhoulde haue b
euery daye to be called to it my ſelfe.

The whore yat committed robbery.

Amonge all other I hea
woman, a naughtye lyu
vayne bodye, yat was ledd
to the place of execution, for a certain
ſhe had committed, and ſhe hadde a w

M. Latimer exhorteth the kynges grace that learned men might be appoynted to ſuch as ſhall ſuffer and are conuict persons.

nication by the waye. H
occaſion to moue your g
menne as ſhall be put to de
learned menne to gyue th
and exhortation.

For the reuerence of G
be put to execution, let the
tours, for manye of theim are caſt a
inſtruction, and dye miſerably for
preaching.

This woman I ſay as ſhe went

wanton and folyſhe talke, as thys, that if good ſelowes hadde kept touch wyth hyr, ſhe hadde not bene at thys tyme in that caſe, and amongeſte al other talke, ſhe ſaied, that ſuche a one, and named this manne, hadde hyr maidenheade fyrſte, and herynge thys of hym at that tyme, I loked euer what woulde be hys ende, what woulde be come of hym. The whores words as she went to execution.

He was a manne the fardeſt frome the feare of God that euer I knewe or heard of in Englande. Fyrſte, he was author of all thys womannes whoredome. For if he had not had hyr maydenhead, ſhe myghte haue bene maried, and become an honeſte womanne, wher as nowe beynge nought wyth hym, ſhee fell afterwarde by that occaſion to other. And they that were nought wyth her, fel to robbery and ſhe folowed, and thus was he author of all thys.

This geare came bi Sequels. Peraduenture thys maye ſeme to be a lyghte matter, but ſurelye it is a greate matter, and he by vnrepentaunce fell frome euyll to worſe, and frome worſe, to worſte of all, til at the length he was made a ſpectacle to all the worlde. I haue hearde ſaye, he was of the opinion that he beleued not the immortalytye of the ſoule that he was not ryght in yat matter. And it mighte well appeare by the takynge of hys death. But ye wyll ſaye. What ye ſclaunder him, ye breake charitye.

Nay it is charitie that I do. We canne haue no better vſe of hym nowe, then to warne other to beware by hym.

Chriſt ſaith *Memores eſtote vxoris Loth.** Remembre Lothes wife? She was a woman that wold not be content with hir good ſtate, but wreſteled wyth Gods callynge, and ſhee was for that cauſe turned into a ſalte ſtone, and therefore the ſcripture doeth name hir *as an example for vs* to take hede by. Ye ſhall ſe *alſo in the ſecond Epiſtle* of ſaint Peter the ſeconde Lottes wyfe is our example to content our ſelues with our state.

* *Remember Lot's wife.*—Luke xvii. 32.

Chapter, howe that God almyghtye
God ſpared not hys aungellis.
numbre of hys Aungels, whicl
againſte hym to make them
vs to beware by. He drown
The whole worlde was drowned, Sodome and Gomor was burnte and all for our example. Gene. xviii.
world in the time of Noe a
for ſynne the cities of Sodo
morhe and why? *Fecit eos qui impii forent acturi.** H
an example to them tha
wyckedlye in tyme to come. If God wo
them, thynke ye he wyll fauour vs?
thys man be an example to vs. Let vs
An exhortation to al subiects not to murmur, misiudg nor repyne agaynste the kinges procedynges.
iudge wel of our magiſtrat
matters and be contente
doynges, and loke not to be
ſaile.

And thus toke I occaſion
him, and to profyt you therbi,
you ſo to take it. He may be a good
vs, and this is the beſt vſe that we can
nowe.

I wil go on a word or two, in the appli
parable, and then I wyll make an end
ende, and to what purpoſe broughte
parable of the wycked iudge.

To what end ye parable of the wycked iudge tendeth.
The ende is, that we ſho
tinually in prayer. Prayer i
rupte but by wickednes.
fore walk orderly, vpryghtly, callyng
all oure troubles, and aduerſyties, and
poſe there is not a more comfortable le
ſcripture, then here now in the lappyng
ter. Therefore I wyll open it vnto you
rable people, if there be any here amon
are oppreſſed with greate men and can
To whom in
I ſpeake for youre comfo

* And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrha into ashes condemned them with an overthrow, making them an ens after should

vnto you, whyther ye ſhall reſort, when ye be in any diſtres. Hys good wyll is redy alwayes at hande, when ſo euer we ſhal cal for it. And therefore he callis vs to hym ſelfe. We ſhall not doubt if we come to him. Marke what he ſayth to cauſe vs beleue that oure praiers ſhalbe hearde. *Et deus non faciet vindictam.** He reaſons after thys faſhyon. Wyl not GOD, ſayeth he, reuenge hys electe? and heare them? ſeyng the wycked iudge heard the wydowe? He ſemeth to go plainely to worcke, he willeth vs to praye to God, and to none but to God. We haue a maner of reaſonynge in the ſcholes, and it is called *A minore ad maius*. From the leſſe to the more, and that maye be vſed here. The iudge was a tirante, a wicked man, God is a patrone, a defender, a father vnto vs If the iudge then, beyng a tyrante, wouldie here the poore wyddowe, muche more God wyll here vs in all diſtreſſes. He beynge a father vnto vs, he wyll heare vs ſoner, then the other beynge no father, hauynge no fatherly affection. Moreouer, God is naturallye mercyful.

dystresse & oppressyon we shall resort.

An argument from the lesse to the more.

The iudge was cruel, and yet he healped the wyddowe, muche more then God wyl help vs at oure nede.

He ſayeth by the oppreſſed. *Cum ipſo ſum in tribulatione.*† I am with hym in hys trouble. Hys trybulacion is myne.

I am touched wyth hys trouble. If the Iudge then beynge a cruell man hearde the wyddowe, muche more GOD wyll healpe vs, being touched wyth oure affection. Furthermore, thys iudge gaue the wydowe, no commaundemente to come to him, we haue a commaundement to reſort to GOD for he ſaieth: *Inuoca me in die tribulationis*:‡ call vpon me in the daye of thy tribulacion, wyche is as well a commaundemente, as *Non furaberis*.§ Thou ſhalt not ſteale.

We haue a commandement to resort to god.

* And shall not God avenge his own elect?—See text at *p.* 103.

† I will be with him in trouble.—Psa. xci. 15.

‡ Call upon me in the day of trouble.—Psa. l. 15.

§ Thou shalt not steal.—Ex. xx. 15.

He that ſpake the one, ſpake the othe
ſoeuer he be that is in trouble, and cal
God, breaketh hys commaundemente.
therefore. The iudge dyd not promiſ
helpe, God promiſed vs help, and w
fourme it? He wyll, he wyl. The
did not promyſe the wyddowe healpe.
vs both hearing and helpynge. He h
it vs wyth a dubble othe. *Amen, a*
verely, verely, he doubles it.

*Quæcumque petieritis etc.** whatſoeuer
my name, ye ſhal haue it. And thoug
ſome ſynner for a tyme, and ſuffer hy
the brydell, to proue hym (for there be ma
but fewe continewars in prayer) yet
thyncke that he hath forgotten vs, and
vs. *Veniens veniet, et non tardabit.*† W
is mooſte nedefull, then he wyll come a
He knoweth when it ſhalbe beſt fo
healpe, though he tary he wyl come at th
trouble you but halfe a quarter of an
application of the parable, and ſo comm

why GOD wold haue vs to be diligent and earnest in prayer.

What ſhould it meane that god wo
dilygent and earneſt in pray
ſuch pleaſure in our wor
talke of prayer, and make
ynge. Praying is not bablin
is not monkerye.

It is to miſerable folke that are op
forte, ſolace, and a remedy.

But what maketh oure prayer to be
God? It lyeth not in our power. We
by an other meane.

Remembre what God ſayed of hi

why our prayer is acceptable to God.

eſt filius meus dilectus,
bene complacui.‡ This is

* Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do.—John xiv. 13.
† He that shall come will come, and will not tarry.—Heb. x. 37.
‡ This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.—Matt. xvii. 5.

whom I delyte. He hath pleaſure in nothynge, but in hym.

How cometh it to paſſe then, that oure prayer pleaſeth God. Oure prayer pleaſeth God, becauſe Chriſt pleaſeth God.

When we praye, we come vnto hym, in the confydence of Chryſtes merytes, and thus offerynge vp oure prayers, they ſhalbe heard for Chryſtes ſake. Yea, Chryſte wyl offer them vp for vs, that offered vp once hys Sacryfyce to God, whych was acceptable, and he that commeth wyth anye other meane then thys, god knoweth hym not.

M. L. cryeth out vpon the popysh masse.

This is not the miſſal Sacrifice, the popiſhe ſacrifyce to ſtand at the aultare, and offer vp Chryſt agayne. Oute vpon it, that euer it was vſed.

I wyl not ſay naye, but that ye ſhall fynde in the olde doctores thys word *Sacrificium*, but there is one generall ſolution for all the doctours that S. Auguſtyne ſheweth vs.

The solution of S. Auguſtyn vpon thys word ſacrifice.

The ſygne of a thynge hath often times the name of ye thing that it ſignifieth. As the ſupper of the Lorde is the Sacrament of an other thynge, it is a commemoration of his death whych ſuffered once for vs, and becauſe it is a ſigne of Chriſtes offering vp, therefore it beares the name therof. And thys Sacrifyce a woman can offer as well as a man. Yea, a poore woman in the belfre: hath as good authoritie to offer vp thys ſacrifyce, as hath the byſhop in his *pontificalibus*, with his myter on his head, hys ringes on his fyngers, and Sandales on hys fete. And whoſoeuer commeth aſking the father remedy in hys neceſſyty for Chryſtes ſake, he offereth vp as acceptable a ſacryfyce as any byſhop can do. And ſo to make an ende.

Thys muſt be done wyth a conſtaunte fayeth, and a ſure confydence in Chriſte. Fayeth, fayeth, fayth. We are vndone for lacke of fayeth. *Chryſte* nameth fayth here, Fayeth is al-

Faythe is all together.

togyther. When the ſonne of man ſhall come, ſhall he ſynde fayeth on the earthe? Why ſpeaketh he ſo muche of faythe? becauſe it is harde to ſynde a true faythe. He ſpeaketh not of a politicall fayth, a faythe ſet vp for a tyme, but a conſtant, a permanent, a durable faythe, as durable as goddes word. He came many tymes. Fyrſte in the tyme of Noe, when he preached, but he founde lytle fayth. He came alſo when Loth preached, when he deſtroyed Sodome and Gomorhe.

But he founde no fayth, and to be ſhorte he ſhall come at the latter daye, but he ſhall ſynde a lytle fayth. And I wene the daye be not farre of, and when he was here carnallye dyd, he ſynde anye faythe? Manye ſpeake of faythe, but fewe ther be that hath it. Chryſte mourneth the lacke of it. He complayneth that when he came, he founde no fayth.

Fayth is a great state & a Dutches.

Thys fayth is a great ſtate, a Ladye, a Dutches, a greate womanne, and ſhe hath euer a great companye and trayne about her (as a noble ſtate ought to haue) fyrſte ſhe hath a Gentilman vſſher that goth before her, and where he is not, there is not Lady fayth.

This Gentilman vſſher is called *Agnitio peccatorum*,

Knowledge of synne is gentle man vsher to Lady fayth.

knoweledge of ſyn, when we enter into our hert, and acknowledge our faultes, and ſtand not about to defend them. He is none of theſe wynkers, he kyckes not when he heares hys fault. Nowe as the Gentilman vſhere goth before her, ſo ſhe hath a trayne that cometh behynde her, and yet thoughe they come behynde, they be all of faythes companye, they are all wyth her, as Chryſte when he counterfayted a ſtate goyng to Hieruſalem, ſome wente before him, and ſome after, yet all were of his company, ſo al

Fayth hath a trayne after her & they are the workes of *our vocation.*

theſe wayte vpon fayeth. She hath a greate trayne after her beſydes hyr Gentylman vſſher, her whole houſhold, and thoſe be the workes of our vocation,

ien euerye man conſydereth what vocation he is , what callyng he is in, and doeth the worckes of the me, as to be good to hys neighbour, to obey od etc.

Thys is the trayne that foloweth Lady Fayeth, as or an exemple. An vnfaythful Iudge hath fyrſte an eauye rekenyge of his faulte, repentynge him ſelf of his wickednes, and then forſaketh his iniquytie, hys impeietie, feareth no man, walkes vpryght, and he that doeth not thus, hath not Ladye fayth, but rather a boldnes of ſynne, and abuſinge of Chriſtes paſſion. Ladye faieth is neuer withoute hyr Gentyl- man vſhere, nor wyth out hyr trayne, ſhee is no Anckres, ſhe dwells not alone, ſhee is neuer a pryuate woman, ſhe is neuer alone, and yet many therbe that boſt them ſelues that they haue fayth, and that when Chriſte ſhall come they ſhall do well ino[u]gh. Nay naye, theſe that be fayethfull ſhal be ſo fewe, that Chriſt ſhal ſkarce ſe them. Manye there be that runnes fayeth Saynte Paule, but there is but one that receyueth the rewarde, it ſhall be wyth the multytude when he ſhall come, as it was in the tyme of Noe, and as it was in the tyme of Loth.

Fayth is no ankres she hath many a atendante vpon hyr parson.

In the tyme of Noe, they were eatynge and drynkynge, buyldynge plantynge, and ſodaynely the water came vpon them, and drowned them:

The sodeyn comynge of ye Lord in the tyme of Noe and Loth.

In the tyme of Lothe alſo, they weare eatynge and drynkynge. etc. And ſodenlye the fyre came vpon them, and deuoured them. And nowe we are eatynge and drinkynge. There was neuer ſuche buyldynge then, as is nowe, plantynge, nor maryinge. And thus it ſhallbe euen when Chriſte ſhall come, at the Iudgemente.

Is eatynge and drynkynge and marying, reproued n ſcripture? Is it not? Naye he reproued not al ynd of eatynge and drynkynge, he muſte be other ayes vnderſtand.

If the ſcrypture be not trulye expounded what is

more erronious? And thoughe there be com
of ſome eatynge or drynkynge in the ſcri
ſpeaketh not as though all were nought.

what eatyng and drinking is allowed and what is dyscommended.

They maye be wel ordere
Goddes allowaunce, but to
drynke as they dyd in Noes t
they dyd in Lothes tyme. T
and drynkynge, and maryinge is ſpoke
To eate and drincke in the forgetfulne
commaundement, voluptuouſly, in e
glotonnie, this kinde of eatyng and
nought, when it is not done moderatly,

What kynde of mariing is reproued worthely.

with al circumſpection. An
to marrye for fleſhelye luſte,
owne fantaſye. Ther was
marriynge in Englande, as is nowe. I

Stealynge of wardes, nay rather of landes.

ſtealynge of wardes to marye
to. This is a ſtraunge kynde
but it is not the wardes, it i
that they ſteale. And ſome ther be th
mariages to gether not for any loue or

Another kinde of mariage and all naught.

the parties, but to get fren
make them ſtronge in the re
creaſe their poſſeſſions and to
to lande. And other there be

The inueglers of mens doughters ar[e] notyd.

mennes daughters, in the cc
theyr fathers, and go aboute to
wythoute theyr conſente. Th
is vngodlye, and manye parentes conſtr

The parentes whych forse theyr chyldren to marri whom they loue not are worthelye reprehendyd.

ſonnes and daughters to m
they loue not, and ſome are
compulſed. And they that
marrye in a forgetfulnes and
of goddes commaundementes

A daye wyll come shall paye for all.

the tyme of Noe, ſodenlye a
theyr boſomes, ſo ſhall it be
latter daye when Chriſte ſh

I feare it be to lytle wyth some men, that

haue as lytle conſcyence
when he ſhal come, he

ꝑeth, wel is them that ſhalbe of that le flocke, that ſhall be ſet on the righte nde. etc. a man can neither fele it nor yet se it.

I haue troubled you longe, partelye beynge out of ıy matter, partelye beyng in. But now I wyl make n ende. I begane wyth thys text. *Quæcunque ſcripta ıunt. etc.** So wyl I ende now for myne owne eaſe, as ın olde treuaunte wyth thys ſentence. *Beati qui ædiunt verbum dei etc.*†

Bleſſed are they that heare the worde of God, and kepeth it. I tolde you in the begynning of thys Parable of *Bene. Nīl melius quam lætari et facere.* If I had ceaſed ther all hadde benne wel, quod the merye Moonke, ſo bleſſed are they that heare the worde of God. But what foloweth? and kepe it.

Our bleſſednes commeth of the kepynge. It hanges all on the ende of the tale, in crediting and aſſentynge to the woorde, and folowynge of it. And thus we ſhal begyn oure bleſſednes here, and at the length we ſhal come to the bleſſynge that neuer ſhal haue ende, whych God graunt both you and me, Amen. Our blessednes commeth of the kepynge

* Rom xv. 4. † Luke xi. 28.

¶ The fifte

Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer, whyche he preached before the kynges Maiestye within hys Graces Palaice at Westminster the fyfte daye of April.

*Quæcunque ſcripta ſunt, ad noſtram doctrinam ſcripta ſunt.** Al thinges yat are wrytten, thei are written, to be oure doctrine. What doctrine is written for vs in the parable of the Iudge, and the wyddowe, I haue opened it to you, moſte honorable audience.

Some thinge as concerning the Iudge, I woulde wyſhe and praye, that it myghte be a lytle better kept in memorye, that in the ſeate of Iuſtyce, no more iniquitie and vnryghtuouſnes, myght raygne.

Thys I feare me is sooner wyshed then often sene but yet let vs prai

Better a lytle wel kept, then a greate deale forgotten. I wold the Iudges woulde take forth theyr leſſon, that there myghte be no more iniquitye vſed, nor brybetakynge, for if there ſhall be brybynge, they knowe the peryl of it, they knowe what ſhal followe. I wolde alſo they ſhoulde take an example of this Iudge that dyd ſaye, not that that he thought hym ſelfe, but our ſauioure Chriſt puttes him to ſaye that thynge, that was hid vnto him ſelfe.

Some can spel and spy oute lande and put together faste inough, but when they read or heare a good lesson, that commith in at one eare and goeth out at the other

Wherfore I wold ye ſhould kepe memorye, how vnſearcheable a mans hert is. I woulde ye ſhould remembre the fall of the Angels, and beware thereby, the fall of the olde worlde, and beware therby. The ſal of Sodome and gomorhe, and be-

Marke ma-

* Rom. xv. 4.

ware therby. The fall of Lothes wyfe, and beware thereby. The fall of the manne that ſuffered of late, and beware therbye.

ny caueates and beware-byes.

I woulde not that miſerable folke ſhould forget the argument of the wycked Iudge, to induce them to prayer, whyche argumente is thys. If the Iudge beynge a tyraunte, a cruell man, a wycked man, whych did not call hir to hym, made hir no promiſe, nor in herynge nor helpynge of hir cauſe, yet in the ende of the matter for the importunityes ſake dyd helpe hyr, muche more almighty god which is a father who beareth a fatherlye affection, as the father doeth to the chylde, and is naturallye mercifull, and calleth vs to him wyth hys Promiſe that he wyll heare them that call vpon hym, that be in diſtres and burdened with aduerſitie. Remembre this. You knowe where to haue youre remedy. You by youre prayer can worcke greate efficayce. And your prayer wyth teares is an inſtrument of great efficacy. It canne brynge many thynges to paſſe. But what thinge is that, that maketh oure prayer acceptable to god? is it oure bablyng? No, no. It is not oure babbling nor oure long prayer. There is an other thynge then it.

The argument of the wycked iudges ſhuld induce vs to prayer.

What maye be wroght by prayer.

What maketh our prayer acceptable to God

The dygnitie and worthines of our wordes, is of no ſuch vertue. For whoſoeuer reſorteth vnto God, not in the confidence of hys own merites, but in the ſure truſte of the deſeruinge of oure Saiuour Ieſus Chryſte, and in hys paſſyon.

Whoſoeuer doeth inuocate the father of heauen, in the truſte of Chriſtes merites, whyche offerynge is the moſt confortable and acceptable offerynge to the father. Whoſoeuer I ſaye offereth vp Chriſte, whyche is a perfecte offerynge, he can not be denied the thing he deſyreth, ſo that it be expedyent for hym to haue it. It is not the bablynge of oure lippes, nor dignitye of oure wordes, but the prayer of *the herte is the offerynge* that pleaſeth thorowe the

Our prayer pleaseth God for Christes sake when we dystrust oure own merites and trust in hys deserum ges.

onely meanes of hys ſonne. For oure pra
vs bycauſe we offer Chriſte to hys father.

In all our praye[r]s we muste brynge a present with vs to god and marke wel who it is,

Whoſoeuer reſorteth to g
Chriſt, he reſorteth in vayne.
pleaſeth, becauſe of Ieſu C
we offer. So that it is fayth,
is the matter, It is no p
wythout fayth, it is but a lyppe lab
monkery wythout fayth. It is but a lytle

I ſpake alſo of lacke of fayth, and vpo
ſayed, the ende of the worlde is neare a
ther is lacke of faith nowe. Alſo the defec

Coniectures why the ende of the worlde is supposed to be neare at hande.

and ſwaruinge from the fayth
the man of ſynne, the ſonne
reueiled, the latter daye is at
vs not thynke hys commyng
But when ſoeuer he cometh h
iniquitye inough, let him come when h
is nowe behinde? we be eatynge and d
they were in Noes tyme, and Mariynge

As much wickednes vsyd in oure tyme as euer was in the time of Noe

wyckedly as euer was. We
purchachinge, planting in th
of Gooddes worde. He maye
lye when he wyll, for there is
chiefe and ſwaruyng from
(raynynge nowe in oure dayes) as euer
age. It is a good warnynge to vs all to
agaynſte hys commynge, Thys lyttle reh

M. Latimer returneth to hys former queſtion and to the diſſolu cion of the ſame.

made of the thynges I ſpeake
mon. I wyll nowe for thys c
to my queſtion and diſſolu
goddes people maye be goue
uernoure that bereth the nan

Wether Godds people maye be gouerned by a kyng or no.

or no. The Iewes hadde a la
they ſhoulde haue a kynge
haue hym accordynge to
god, he would not leaue
kyng to theyr owne bra
ſome buſy braynes, w
ſaye, the name of a k

The kynges of the Iewes were elected and chosen of God.

name and wrieth this text of the ſcripture, wher god ſemeth to be angrye and diſpleſed with the Iſralites for aſkyng a kyng expounding it very euill and odiouſly. As who wold ſay a king were an odiouſe thyng. I comminge ridinge in my way, and calling to remembraunce wherfore I was ſent, that I muſt preach, and preach afore ye kyngs maieſti I thought it mete to frame my preching according to a king. Muſyng of thys I remembred miſelfe of a boke that came from Cardinall Pole, maiſter Pole the kynges traytor, whyche he ſent to the kynges maieſtye. I neuer remember that man me thyncke, but I remember hym wyth a heauye herte, a wyttye man, a learned man, a man of a noble houſe, ſo in fauoure that if he had taried in the realme, and woulde haue conformed hym ſelfe to the Kynges procedynges, I hearde ſaye, and I beleue it verelye, that he hadde bene Byſhop of Yorcke at this day. To be a bidden by, he wold haue done muche good in that parte of the Realme. For thoſe quarters haue all wayes had greate nede of a learned man, and a preachynge prelatte. A thynge to be muche lamented that ſuche a man ſhoulde take ſuche a waye. I here ſaye he readeth muche Sayncte Ieromes workes, and is wel ſene in theim But I woulde he woulde followe ſayncte Ierome, wher he expoundeth thys place of ſcripture.

*Exite de illa populus meus.** All mightie god ſaieth. Get you from it, get you from Rome, he calles it, the purple hore of Babilon. It had bene more commendable to go from it, then to come to it. What his ſayings be in his boke, I do not well remember, it is in the fartheſt ende of my memorye.

He declareth hym ſelfe in it, to haue a corrupte iudgemente, I haue but a glym-

i. Regu. viii.

Oure preachynge must be framed accordynge to the persons before who[m] we preache.

C. Pole the kynges traytor, a traytor agaynste kynde and nature.

M. Latimer lamentes the defection of C. Pole and the breche of hys allegiaunce to hys lyege and Royale kynge.

They nede as greatly at thys daye as euer they did.

Cardinal Pole vsyth (they saye) to rede muche Saint Ieromes woorkes.

Rome is called of Ierome the purple hoore of Babylon

He meaneth of the booke that C. Pole

* *My people, go ye out of the midst of her.*—Jer. li. 45.

dyd sende to the kynge.

The scope or state of the boke, tendes to dysuade the kinge from hys supremycye.

Spoken like a Cardinal who may lie by authorite because he dwelleth at Rome.

meringe of it Yet in generally the ſcope of it. He goeth diſſuade the kynge from his ſu his perſuaſions he is very wh quycke and ſharpe wyth the K Cardinals wyll take well vpon ſayeth that a kynge is an odiou touched the place how god with the Iſraelites for calling

Verye lyghtely he ſemeth to title of a kynge. As though meane: what is a Kinge? What ſhould vpon hym to redreſſe matters of religion? to oure holy father of Rome. A kyng and a title rather ſuffered of God as an then alowed as a good thyng.

Callynge thys to remembraunce, it wa that I ſpake altogether before. Nowe I to thys. For the anſwere I muſte ſom the eyght Chapter of the fyrſt boke of And that I mai haue grace, etc.

TO come to ye opening of th muſt begyne at the begyn Chapter, that the vnlerned (a ſure, here be a greate meany maye the better come to the inge of the matter. *Factum eſt cum ſen* i. Regu. viii. *fecit filios ſuos iudices populo.** to paſſe when Samuell was ſtricken in age, ſonnes Iudges ouer Iſraell. Of Samuell I proceſſe a far of, of ye ſtorye of Elcana, wh ther, and who was hys mother, Elcana hys f

A taunt (by the waye) to suche as vse vnlawful diuorcemente.

wyues, Anna and Phennenna, put theym awaie, as men do Ther was debate betwene Phenenna in the doing brayded Anna bycauſe ſhe was barren

* And it came to pass, when sons judg Samuel was old, that he made his viii. 1.

I might take here occacion to entreate of the dutye betwene man and wyfe, whiche is a holy religyon, but not religiouſlye kepte. But I wyll not enter into that matter at thys tyme. Well, in proceſſe of tyme, God made Inna fruitfull, thorowe hyr deuoute prayer. She broughte forth Samuell, whoe by the ordinaunce of God, was made the hyghe pryeſte. Father Samuell a good man, a ſingular example, and ſingular patron, a manne alone, fewe ſuche men as father Samuell was. To be ſhorte he was nowe come to age, he was an old man, an impotente man, not able to go from place to place to miniſter iuſtice, he electes and choſes two ſuffraganes, twoo coadiutours, two cohelpers, I meane not hallowers of belles, nor Chriſtiners of belles, that is a popyſh ſuffraganſhip, he made them to healpe hym, to dyſcharge his office, he choſe hys two ſonnes rather then other, becauſe he knewe them to be wel broughte vp in vertue, and learnynge, It was not for anye carnall affection, he cared not for hys renowne, or reuenewes, but he appoynted them for the eaſe of the people, the one for to ſupply hys place in Bethſabe, and the other in Bethlem.

Anna of baren made fru[it]ful and mother to Samuel.

Samuell beynge aged chose to hym two suffragenes to assyst hym in hys offyce.

Why he chose hys owne two sonnes rather then any other

Samuel tenderynge the ease of hys people appoynted two offycers.

As we haue now in England, for the wealthe of the Realme, two Lordes preſidentes, Surelye, it is wel done, and a goodly order, I wold ther were a thyrd in an other place.

A third Lord presydent wold do wel

For the eaſe of hys people, good father Samuell, and to diſcharge hys offyce in places wher he coulde not come hym ſelfe, he ſette hys twoo ſonnes in offyce wyth hym, as hys ſuffraganes, and as hys Coadiutoures.

Here I myght take occaſion to treate what olde and impotente Byſhoppes ſhould do, what olde preachers ſhould do, when they come to impotency, to ioyne wyth them preachers preachers, not Belhalowers, and to departe, parte of *theyre lyuynge* wyth theym.

What the impotent and olde byshoppes shoulde do when they are not able to susteyne the trauayle and paynes

I myghte haue dylated this matter at

of preaching large. But I am honeſtelye preuented of thys commune place, and I am verye glad of it.

There are to many suche flese feders

It was very well handeled the laſte Sondaye. They that wyl not for the offyce ſake receyue other, regarde more the fleſe then the flocke.

Father Samuel, regarded not hys reuenewes. Our

Amen,

Lorde gyue them grace to be affected as he was, and to followe him. etc. Thoughe I ſaye that I would wiſhe mo Lorde preſidentes. I meane not that I woulde haue prelates, Lordes preſidentes, nor that Lorde byſhoppes ſhall be Lorde preſydentes. As touchynge that, I ſayed my mynde and conſcience the laſt yeare.* And al thoughe it isſayed, *Præſunt*, it is not mente that they ſhould be Lorde preſidentes, the offyce of a Lorde preſidenſhyp is a ciuyll offyce, and it canne not be that one manne ſhal dyſcharge bothe. Wel, it followeth in the texte. *Non ambulauerunt filii eius in uiis eius, etc.*† Hys ſonnes walked not in hys wayes, heare is the matter, here ye ſe the goodnes of Samuell, howe, when he was not able to take the paynes him ſelfe for theyr owne eaſe, he appoynted them Iudges neare them as it were in the further partes of hys Realme, to haue Iuſtyce ryghtly miniſtered. But what folowed.

M. Latimer woulde not haue byshoppes and prelates Lord presidentes.

The office of a presidentshyp is a cyuyl offyce and occupieth a man wholy.

Thoughe Samuell were good, and hys chyldrene well brought vppe, looke what the world can do? Ah crafty world? Whome ſhall not thys worlde corrupte and deceyue at one tyme or other? Samuel thoughte hys ſonnes ſhoulde haue proued well, but yet Samuels ſonne walked not in theyr fathers waye. Why? what then? Is the ſonne alwayes bounde to walke in the fathers waye?

The worlde wyl corrupt and deceyue vs or we be ware of it the dyuell is so crafty and lucre is so swete.

* [According to the old reckoning, the *Sermon on The Plougherz* (see references to this subject at pp. 27—29 *of Ed. 1868*) preached on 18th *Jan.*, 1549, was by Latimer, preaching on 5th April following, be then referred as in 'the laste yeare' (old style.)]

† His sons walked not in his ways. —1 Sam. viii. 3.

No, ye muſte not take it for a generall rule. All ſonnes are not to be blamed in theyre fathers wayes.

The ſonne is not alwayes bounden to walke in the fathers, wayes.

Ezechias dyd not folowe the ſteppes of his father Ahaz, and was well alowed in it. Ioſias the beſte kyng that euer was in Iewry, reſourmed hys fathers wayes, who walked in worldly policye.

Ezechias did not follow the steppes of his father Ahaz. iiii. Re. xviii.

Iosyas reſourmed the wayes of hys father Amon iiii. Re. xxii. and. xxiii.

In hys youth, he toke a waye all Idolatrye, and purdged hys Realme of it, and ſet a good order in al his Dominions, wreſtled with Idolatrye.

And althoughe hys father or hys grande father Manaſſes (it makes no matter whether) repented hym in the ende he had no tyme to reſourme thynges, he left it to hys ſonne to be done.

He was but eygth yeare olde when he beganne to Raygne.

Ioſias beganne and made an alteracion in hys chyldehode, he tourned al vpſydowne, he would ſuffer no Idolatrye to ſtand.

Therefore, you muſt not take it for a general rule, that ye ſonne muſte euer walke in his fathers wayes.

Here I wyll renewe, that whyche I ſayed before of the ſtyfnecked Iewes, the rebelliouſe people (that is theyr tytle) they neuer ſpake ſo rebelliouſlye, as to ſaye, they woulde not receyue any alteracion, tyll theyr kyng came to age. Muche leſſe we Englyſhe men, if (there be anye ſuche in Englande) maye be aſhamed.

We are more styffneckyd more rebellious and sturdyer then the Iewes.

I wonder wyth what conſcience folke can heare ſuche thinges and alowe it.

Thys Ioſias made a notable alteration, and therfore take it not for a general rule, that the ſonne ſhall alwayes walke in hys fathers wayes.

Thys is no rule to reken vppon.

Thynke not becauſe he was ſlayne in battayle, that God was diſpleaſed wyth hym. For herein God ſhewed hys goodnes to hym wonderfullye, who woulde not ſuffer hym to ſe the captiuite that he would bringe vpon the Iſraelites. He would not

Iosias was slayne in battayle of Pharao Necho kynge of Egipt at Magyddo. iiii. Reg. xiii.

hym to haue the ſyght, the ſealynge, and the beholdynge of hys plage, he ſuffered hym to be taken away before, and to be ſlayne of the kynge of Egipt.

Wherfore a iuſte man muſte be glade when he is taken from miſery. *Iuſtus ſi morte præoccupatius fuerit in refrigerio erit.** If a iuſte man be preuented wyth deathe, it ſhal be to hys relyefe. He muſt thynke that he is one of thoſe, whome the worlde is not worthye to haue, it came of a ſingular goodneſſe of god, that he was by death delyuered frome the ſyght of that captiuitie. Therfore take it not for a general rule, that the ſonnes be alwaies bounde to walke in the fathers wayes.

Nolite in præceptis patrum ueſtrorum incedere.† Walke not in the commaundementes of youre fathers. For ſo it is ſayed in another place of ſcrypture. It is ſpoken to the reproche of Samuels ſonnes that they walked not in hys waye, for he was a good man.

A wonderful thynge that theſe chyldren beynge ſo well brought vp ſhould ſo fal and be corrupte, Yf the dyuell can preuayle and hath power agaynſte them, that had ſo Godlye education, what vauntage hath he at them yat be brought vp iniquitie and couetouſnes? It is a Prouerbe that *magiſtratus uirum commonſtrat.*

Authoryte and offyce tryeth what a man is.

Office and authoritye ſheweth what a man is. A man knoweth not hym ſelfe, tyl he be tryed. Many there be that being without office can rebuke magiſtrates, and fynd faut with men that be in office and preeminence. After when it commeth to their chaunce to come to office themſelues, then they haue taken out a newe leſſon. *cum eſſe paruulus ſapiebam vt parulus.*‡ When I was a child, I ſauered as a childe.

Thys hathe bene often tymes verefied and sene in prechers, before they were byshoppyd or beneficed.

Do as the most do, and the fewest shal wonder at theym.

They wyll do then as other men do, they are come to haue experience, to be practiſioners. The maydes chylde is euer beſt taughte, for he hath ſtandes vp ryghte in office, he is the fellow, Samuell wold neuer

* *The righteous is taken away from the evil to come.*—Isa. lvii. 1.
† *Walke ye* [illegible] *statutes of* your fathers.—Ezek. xx. 18.
‡ When I was a child . . . I thought as a child.—1 Cor. xiii. 11.

haue thought that hys ſonnes ſhold haue bene ſo corrupted. It is a perillous thynge, a daungerous ſtate to be a iudge. They felte ye ſmaker of the worlde, a perillous thyng. And therfore S Chriſoſtom ſayth. *Miror ſi aliquis rectorum ſaluabitur.* I maruaile (ſayeth he) yat ani ruler can be ſaued. If the peril were wel conſidered men would not be ſo deſirous as they be. The world ye world hath many ſubtil ſleightes, it is a craftie thyng and verye deceitfull, a corrupter, and who is it whom the worlde doeth not corrupte and blynde at one tyme or other.

The state of a Iudge is daungerous and lucre is so lickorous that he that once lyckes of it, leketh it.

The good man Nemo otherwyse called nobody that dwelleth wyth Vtopia.

What was the waye they walked? *Declinauerunt poſt auaritiam.** That is one. Thei ſtouped after gayne, they turned a ſyde after lucre. What folowed? *Acceperunt munera.** They toke rewardes gyftes, brybes I ſhould cal theym, for that is theyr ryghte name. What then? *Peruerterunt iuditium.** They turned Iuſtice vpſedowne. Eyther they would gyue wrong iudgemente, or els put of and delaye poore mennes matters.

They cal them rewardes but bribes is the fyrst letter of theyr Christian name.

Theſe were theyr wayes, here is the Deuyles genealogye. A gradation of the Diuyles making. This is, *Scala inferni.* The ladder of hell.

The Diuels geanealogye the ladder of hell.

I tolde you before of *scali cæli*, the ladder of heauen, I woulde you ſhoulde not forget it. The ſteppes thereof are ſet forthe in the tenth to the Romaynes. The fyrſte is preachynge, then hearynge, then beleuynge, and laſte of all Saluation. *Scala cæli*, is a preachynge matter I tell you, and not a maſſying matter, goddes inſtrument of ſaluation, is preachynge.

Preachynge Hearynge Beleuynge and saluacion.

Here I moued you my Lordes, not to be greadye and outragiouſe in enhaunſynge, and rayſinge of youre rentes, to the miniſhynge of the offyce of ſaluation. It

Wel moued and Godlye exhorted of M. Latimer but litle minded or slow

† And his [illegible] took bribes, and perverte

'ye followed for all that.

woulde pytye a mans hert to heare that I heare of the ſtate of Cambrige, it is in Oxforde I can not tell. Ther be few

The studi of diuinitie decayed in Cambriege.

ſtudy diuinitie, but ſo many as of ne ſiti muſt furnyſh ye Colledges. For the lyuynges be ſo ſmall, and vytaylee ſo dere that they tarry not ther, but go other where ſeke lyuynges and ſo they go aboute. Nowe there a fewe gentylmen and they ſtudye a little diuinitie.

The vsurped supremytye of the byſh[op] of Rome wyl not be kept out with a lytle Englyſhe dyuinitie.

Alas, what is that? it wil come to paſſe that we ſhal haue nothynge but a lytle Englyſhe diuinitie, that wyl brynge the Realme into a verye barbaroufnes, and vtter decaye of learnynge. It is not that, I wyſte, that wyl kepe oute the ſupremacye of the byſhoppe of Rome.

M. Latimer is reasonabl request for poore schollers ex[h]ibycions.

Here I wyl make a ſupplicacion, that ye would beſtow ſo muche to the fyndynge of ſchollers, of good wyttes, of poore mens ſonnes, to exerciſe the offyce of ſaluacion, in releuing of ſcholers, as ye were wont to beſtowe in Pylgrimage matters, in trentals, in maſſes, in purgatorye matters, Ye beſtowed that lyberallye, bountyfully, but thys was not wel ſpente.

You hadde a zeale but not *Secundum ſcientiam.**

Wher vpon we maye beſtowe once goodes wel, and please God wel

Not accordynge to knowledge. You may beſure yf you beſtowe youre goodes on thys wyſe, ye ſhall beſtowe it wel to ſupporte and vpholde Goddes worde wherin ye ſhal pleaſe God.

I requyre no more, but that ye beſtowe ſo much Godlye, as ye were wonte to beſtowe vngodlye.

It is a reſonable peticion, for Goddes ſake, look vpon it I ſay no more.

They that haue least nede haue most healpe

There be none nowe but greate men ſonnes in Colledges, and theyr fathers wo not to haue them preachers, ſo euer waye thys offyce of preachynge, is pyncht at.

* For I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not ing to knowledge.—Rom. x

I wil ſpeake no more of *Scala cæli*, But I am ſuer thys is *Scala inferni*, the ryghte waye to hell, to be couetous, to take bribes, and peruerte iuſtice. If a iudge ſhoulde aſke me the waye to hell, I woulde ſhewe hym thys waye. Fyrſte let hym be a couetouſe man, let hys herte be poyſoned wyth couetouſnes. Then let hym go a lyttle further and take brybes, and laſte peruerte iudgemente. Loo, heare is the mother and the daughter, and the daughters daughter. Auarice is the mother, ſhe brynges forthe brybe takynge, and bribe takyng, peruertyng of iudgement.

The ready waye downe to the deuyl in hell.

Ther lackes a fourth thing to make vp the meſſe, whyche ſo God helpe me if I were iudg, ſhoulde be *Hangum tuum*, a tyburne typpet to take wyth hym, and it were the iudge of the kinges bench, my Lorde chyefe Iudge of Englande, yea, and it were my Lord Chaunceloure hym ſelfe, to tiburne wyth hym.

A tyburne tippet for brybbe takers and peruerters of iudgement.

Ther was wyth in theſe. xxx, yeares a certain wyddow, whych ſodaynlye was attached, had to pryſon, indyted, condempned, and there were certayne learned men that viſited her in the priſon. Oh I woulde ye woulde reſorte to Pryſonnes. A commendable thynge in a chryſten realme, I woulde wyſhe there were curates for pryſonnes, that we myght ſaye, the curate of Newegate, the curate of the flet, and I woulde haue theym well waged for theyre laboure. It is a holy daye worcke to vyſet the priſoners, for they be kepte from ſermons. Ther was that reſorted to thys woman, who, when ſhe came to preſon, was all on hyr beades, and nothynge elſe, a popyſh woman, and ſauered not of Ieſu Chriſte. In proceſſe ſhe was ſo *applyed that* ſhe taſted. *Quam ſuauis eſt dominus.** She had ſuche a ſauore, ſuche a ſweetenes and felynge that ſhe thought it longe to the daye of execution. She was wyth chriſte al ready [illegible]

The wydow that was in prison.

Ther shulde be curates for presones.

A holy daye worke to vysyt the presoners.

The woman turned from papystrye by the dyligent resort of the learned, & quentyn presoner

She had ſuche a deſyre that ſhe ſayed wyth ſay Paule. *Cupio diſſolui et eſſe cum chriſto.*† I deſyre to b ryd, and to be wyth Chriſt. The word of God had wrought in hyr, when ſhe was brought to punyſhme ſhe deſyred to confeſſe hyr faulte, ſhe toke of hyr death, that ſhe was gyltyleſſe in that thynge ſhe ſuffered for, and hyr neyghbours woulde haue borne hyr wytnes in the ſame. She was alwayes an honeſte ciuyll woman, hyr neyghbours woulde haue gone on hir purgacion a greate waye.

They would nedes haue hir confeſſe, then ſaith ſhe. I am not gylty, wold ye haue me to make me gyltye, wher I am not? Yet for al thys, ſhe was a treſpaſar, ſhe had done a greate offence.

But before I go forwarde wyth thys, I muſt fyrſt tel you a tale.

I hearde a good whyle ago, a tale of one, I ſawe the man yat told me the tale not longe ago, in thys auditorye. He hath traueiled in mo countries then one.

A rych merchaunt cast in to the Castel Angel.

He toulde me that there was once a pretour in Rome, Lorde mayre of Rome, a ryche manne, one of the richeſt marchauntes in all the cytye, and ſodaynelye he was caſte in the caſtle Aungell. It was herde of, and euerye man, whyſpered in an others eare. What hath he done? Hathe he kylled any man? No. Hath he medled wyth Alam, oure holye fathers merchandice? No. Hathe he counterfaited our holy fathers Bulles. No. For theſe were hye treaſons.

One rowned an other in the ear and ſayd, *Erat diues.* He was a riche man. A greate fault. Here was a goodlye praye for that holye father. It was in Popes Iulius tyme, he was a greate warrioure. Thys praye woulde healpe hym to maynetayne hys warres, a ioly praye for oure holye father.

A gentleman of a long nose from suche a

So thys woman was *Diues.* She was a rych woman. ſhe had hir landes by the Shiriffes no He was a gentilman of a longe n

* Having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is fa —Phil. i. 23.

Such a cup, ſuche a cruſe. She would not depart from hir own. Thys Shyryffe was a couetuouſe man, a worldely man. The Iudge at the enpanelynge of the queſte, hadde hys grauelookes, and charged them wyth thys. It was the kynges matter, loke wel vpon it.

nose, I praye God, Libera nos et salua nos.

When it makes for theyr purpoſe, they haue the Kynge, the kinge, in their mouthes.

Wel, ſome what there was, ther was walkynge of angelles betwene them. I would wyſhe that of ſuche a Iudge in Englande nowe, we might haue ye ſkin hanged vp. It were a goodly ſigne the ſygne of the iudges ſkynne. It ſhoulde be Loths wyfe, to all Iudges that ſhoulde folow after. By thys ye may perceiue, it is poſſible for a manne to anſwere for him ſelfe, and be arrained at the barre, and neuertheles to haue wronge. Yea, ye ſhall haue it in fourme of lawe, and yet haue wronge to. So it is poſſible in a caſe, for a manne that hath in hys abſence atintament [attaintment]. to haue right, and no wronge.

The sygne of the Iudges skynns

A man maye answer for him selfe and yet haue wronge, and be absent, and yet haue ryghte.

I wil not ſay naye, but it is a good lawe for a man to anſwere for him ſelfe, thys is reaſonable, alowable and good. And yet ſuche an vrgent cauſe maye be, ſuche a reſpect to a commune wealth that a man may rightlye be condemned in hys abſence. There be ſuche cauſes that a man may in hys abſence be condemned, but not ofte, excepte they be ſuch caſes that the reaſon of the generall lawe maye be kepte. I am prouoked of ſome to condempne this lawe, but I am not able, ſo it be but for a time, and vppon wayghty conſideracions, ſo that it be vſed rarely, ſeldomly, for auoydyng diſturbaunce in the commune wealth, ſuch an epiky and moderacion maye be vſed in it.

And neuertheles it is verye mete and requiſite that a man ſhoulde anſwere for hym ſelfe.

We muſte conſider the ground of the lawe: for *Ratio legis, anima legis.* The *reason of the law, is* ye ſoule of the

The reason of the lawe is the soule of the lawe.

law. Whi? what is the reaſon and ende of the lawe? It is thys, that no man ſhoulde be iniured. A man may in hys attayntmente haue no more wronge done hym then if he aunſwered for hym ſelfe.

Ah then I am not able to ſaye, that in no wyſe, and arrainement maye be tourned in to attayntement, A man may haue wronge and that in open iudgemente, and in forme of lawe, and yet alowed to anſwere for hym ſelfe: and euen ſo is poſſible he maye haue ryghte thoughe he neuer aunſwere for hym ſelfe. I wyll not ſay but that the parlament houſes both hye and lowe, may erre, and yet they may do wel, and chriſten ſubiectes muſt take all thynges to the beſte, and expounde theyr doynges well, althoughe they can not yelde, a reaſon for it, except their proceadings be manifeſtli wicked. For though they can not attayne to ſe for what purpoſe thynges be done, it is no good reaſone that they be called euell done therefore. And is thys a good argumente, he is not alowed to anſwer for hym ſelfe in thys place or that place, where he wyll appoynte: Ergo, he is not alowed to anſwere for him ſelfe? No.

How we must take the doynges of the parliament.

An vntrue argument.

He myght haue aunſwered the beſte he coulde for hym ſelfe before a greate meanye, and haue hadde moe to, if he had requyred theym. Yea, and was commaunded vpon his allegiaunce to ſpeake for hym ſelfe, and to make aunſwere, but he woulde not, nedes he woulde come oute to Iudgemente, and appoynte the place hymſelfe.

A manne that anſweres for hym ſelfe at the barre, is not allowed hys manne of lawe to anſwere for hym, but he muſte aunſwere hym ſelfe. Yet in the Parliamente, although he were not there hym ſelfe, anye frende he had, had lyberty to aunſwere for hym, franke, and fre, I know of olde the manner. The tenoure of the wryttes is thys, Euerye man to ſpeake the beſt he knoweth of hys conſcyence, for the kynges mageſties honour, and the wealth of the realme. There were

Fre lyberty is graunted speake in the Parliamente house.

in the Parliament in both houſes, a greate manye learned men, conſcionable men, wyſe men. When that man was attaynted there, and they hadde lybertye, there to ſay naye, to hys attayntmente yf they woulde. Sure I am the mooſte allowed it, or elſe it coulde not haue gone forwarde.

Theſe premiſſes conſidered. I woulde haue you to beare ſuche a hart, as it becommeth chriſten ſubiectes. I knowe what men ſaie of me wel ynoughe, I could pourge my ſelfe.

There is that prouokes me to ſpeake ag[a]ynſt thys lawe of attayntemente, they ſaye I am not indyfferente. Surelye I woulde haue it to be doone rarely vpon ſome great reſpecte to the commune wealthe, for auoydynge of greater tumulte and peryll.

Paule was alowed to anſwer for hym ſelfe.

Saynt Paule was allowed to anſwere for hym ſelfe, yf Liſias the tribune hadde not pluckte him awaye from ſhewynge of hys matter, it hadde coſte hym hys lyfe. Actes xxi. Where he was ſaued by the magyſtrate, beynge but a pryuate manne. Wyll ye not alowe that ſome thynge be done as wel for ſauynge of the magyſtrates lyfe? It behoues theym of the Parliament to looke well vpon the matter. And I for my parte thynke not but they dyd well, elſe I ſhould not yelde the dutye of a ſubiecte.

M. Latimer likened to doctour Shaw.

Some liken me to doctoure Shaw, that preached at Pauls croſſe, that Kynge Edwardes ſonnes were baſtardes. An eaſy matter for one of the counſell to induce Latimer to make a lie as doctour Shaw dyd. Me thinke you beynge the kynges ſeruaunt and hys offycer, ſhoulde thynke better on the Kynge, and hys councel, thoughe I were lyghte of beleſe. If he had bene a true man to hys mayſter, he woulde neuer haue ſpoken it.

The counſayle nedes not my lye, for the defence of *that, that they* do. I canne beare it of my ſelfe. *Concerninge* my ſelfe, that, that which I haue ſpoken, *ath done* ſome good.

You wyl ſaye thys. The Parliamente houſe a *yſer then* I am, you myghte leaue theym to defe

of theym ſelues. Althoughe the men of the Parliament houſe can defende them ſelues, yet haue I ſpoken thys of a good zeale, and a good ground of the Admyralles wryttyng, I haue not fayned, nor lyed one iote. Vſe your Iudgement and languages, as it becommeth Chriſtian ſubiectes.

One fact confessed of the Admyral, he wouldie not haue the kynge brought vp lyke a warde in hys minoriti

I wyll nowe leaue the honourable counſayle to anſwere for themſelues. He confeſſed one facte, he woulde haue hadde the gouernaunce of the kynges maieſtye. And wot ye why? He ſayed he would not in his minoritie haue hym brought vp lyke a warde. I am ſure he hath bene brought vp ſo Godly, wyth ſuch Sholemayſters as neuer kynge was in Englande, and ſo hathe proſpered vnder them, as neuer none dyd. I wotte not what he mente by hys bryngyng vp lyke a warde, onles he woulde haue hym not to go to hys boke and learne as he doeth.

Kynges shulde be learnid

Nowe woo worth hym, yet I wyl not ſay ſo neyther. but I pray God amende hym, or els God ſende hym ſhort lyfe, that woulde haue my ſoueraygne not to be brought vp in learnynge, and woulde plucke hym from hys booke. In aduertyſe the therfore my fellowe ſubiecte, vſe thy tonge better, and expounde well the doynges of the magyſtrates.

Now to the purpoſe, for theſe thynges lette me of my matter, and yet they be neceſſarye.

Some ſaye preachers ſhould not meddle wyth ſuche matters, but dyd not oure Sauioure Ieſus Chriſte medle wyth matters of Iudgemente, when he ſpake of the wycked Iudge, to leaue enſample to vs that followe, to do the ſame?

Ladye couetusnes is a chyldynge woman.

Ye ſe here, that Ladye couetouſnes is a fruitfull woman, euer chyldynge, and euer bryngynge forthe her fruites. It is a true ſayinge. *Radix omnium malorum auaritia.** Couetuouſnes is the roote of all wykednes. One wyl ſay peraduenture, you ſpeake vnſemelye and in conuenientlye ſo to be agaynſte the offycers, for takynge of *rewardes* in doynge pleaſures.

* The [illegible] money is the root of all evil.—1 Tim. vi. 10.

[redacted]

Ye conſyder not the matter to the bottome. Theyr offyces be bought for great ſommes, nowe howe ſhall they receyue theyre money agayne, but by brybynge ye woulde haue them vndone. Some of them gaue. CC. [two hundred] poundes ſome. v.C. [fiue hundred] pounde, ſome. ii. M [two thouſand] pound, And how ſhal they gather vp thys money agayne, but by healpynge them ſelues in theyre offyce. And is it ſo trowe ye? Are ciuile offyces bought for monei?* Lorde God. Who would haue thought that? Let vs not be to haſti to credit it For then we haue the old prouerbe, *Omnia uenalia Romæ*. All thynges are ſolde for mony at rome, and rome is come home to oure own dores. If thei bei, thei muſt nedes ſel, for it is wittely ſpoken. *Vendere iure poteſt, emerat ille prius*, he may lawefully ſel it, he bought it before. God forfend that euer any ſuch enormitie ſhuld be in England, that ciuile offyces ſhould be boughte and ſoulde, wher as men ſhulde haue them gyuen them for theyr worthines, I would the kinges maieſtye ſhuld ſeke thorow his realme for mete men, and able men, worthye to be in offyce, yea and gyue them liberally for theyr paynes, and rather geue them money to take the offyce in hande, then they to geue money for it. Thys byinge of offyces is a makynge of bryberye, it is an enducynge, and enforſynge, and compelling of men to bryberye. Holye ſcrypture qualifyeth the offycers and ſheweth what maner of men they ſhulde be and of what qualites, *Viros fortes*,† Some Tranſlacions haue *Viros ſapientes*.† The Englyſhe tranſlacion hath it verye well. Menne of actyuitye that haue ſtomakes to do theyr office, they muſt not be milke ſoppes, nor whyte lyuered knyghtes, they muſte be wyſe, hartye, hardye men a good ſtomake. Secondarely, he quali-

He that byeth dere must nedes sel theraſter.

* Ye must vnderstande, 'yea, as well as cyuyl oyle' to make the sentence perfect.

Mete men able, and worthy to be put in offyce.

It is a brybery to bye offyces.

What manner of men offycers shulde be.

They muste haue, iiii. properties.

They shalt ... hating covetousn

fyeth them wyth the feare of god. He ſaieth they be *Timentes deum.** fearyng God. For yf he feare G ſhalbe no bryber, no paruerter of iudgemente, ful. Thyrdly they muſt be choſen offycers. *In q eſt veritatis.** In whome is trueth. If he ſa it ſhalbe done. Fourthly. *Qui oderunt auarit* Hatynge couetouſnes, farre from it, he wyll not nere it, that hateth it. It is not he that wyll geue.

Fyue C. pounde, geuen for an offyce

[fiue hundred] pounde for an o Wyth theſe qualityes Goddes dome woulde haue magiſtrates t qualifyed. Thys commeth from the deuylles ſiſtory to pay. v. C. [fiue hundred] pounde one offyce. If they paye ſo much, it muſt

They that are mete to beare offyce wold be sought out and lyberally feed. Sellynge of offyces and seliyng of benefyces are both one. that is to say Symony otherwyse called Se money.

followe that they take brybes, that th brybe takers. Suche as be mete to office ſeke them out, hyere them, them compotente and lyberall fees they ſhall not nede to take anye b And if ye be at ſelling ciuile offic are as they which ſell theyr bene and ſo we ſhal haue. *Omnia ue* Al thinges boughte for money. I uaile the ground gapes not and de vs, how be it, we ought not to mar ſurely it is, the great lenitie of god that ſuffers it. Lorde in what caſe are we If the great men in ſhuld vſe in theyr religion of Mahomete to ſel a patrons commonlye ſell benefyces here, the offy preachinge, the office of ſaluacion it ſhoulde be

The Turke would not suffer that we do.

as an intollerable thing. The turke not ſuffer it in his common wealth.

and not to

trons be charged to ſe the office ſeke a lucre and a gaine by his p ſhip. Ther was a patron in England (it was) that had a benefyce fallen i hande and a good brother of mi and brought hym. xxx. Apples and gaue them hys man to car

The potrons deutye, in bestowynge of his benefyce.

vnto hym

The merye

* Such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness.

hys mayſter. It is like he gaue one to his man for his laboure to make vp the game, and ſo ther was xxxi. This man commeth go his mayſter and preſented hym wyth the dyſhe of Apples, ſayinge. Syr ſuche a man hathe ſente you a dyſhe of frute, and deſyreth you to be good vnto hym for ſuche a benefyce. Tuſhe tuſhe, quod he, thys is no apple matter. I wyll none of hys apples. I haue as good as theſe (or as he hath any) in myne owne orchearde. The man came to the pryeſt agayne, and toulde hym what hys mayſter ſayed. Then quod the prieſt, deſyre hym yet to proue one of them for my ſake, he ſhal find them much better then they loke for. He cut one of them and founde ten peces of golde in it. Mary quod he, thys is a good apple. The pryeſt ſtandyng not farre of, herynge what the Gentle man ſayed, cryed out and anſwered, they are all one apples I warrante you Syr, they grewe all on one tree, and haue all one taſte. Well, he is a good fellowe, let hym haue it quode the patrone, etc, Get you a grafte of thys tre and I warrante you it ſhall ſtand you in better ſteade then all Sayncte Paules learnynge. Well, let patrons take hede for they ſhall aunſwere for all the ſoules that peryſhe throughe theyr defaute. There is a ſaying that ther be a greate maenye in Englande that ſaye there is no ſoule, that beleue not in the immortalitye of mans ſoule, that thyncke it is not eternal, but lyke a dogges ſoule, that thynke there is neyther heauen nor hell. Oh Lord, what a wayghtye, matter is thys? What a lamentable thynge in a chriſten common wealth? I can not tell what they ſaye, but I perceyue by their worckes that they thyncke ſo, or elles they woulde neuer do as they do. Theſe fellers of offices ſhew that they beleue that there is neyther hell nor heauen. It is taken for a laughynge matter, wel, I wyl gooe on. Nowe to the Chapiter. The chyldren of Iſraell came to *Samuell* and ſayed. *Senuiſti.** Thou

tale of the patrone that sold a benefyce for a deyntye dyshe of Apples.

A graft of gold to get a benefyce wyth al is worth a great deale of learnynge.

The errour of such as beleue not the immortalitie of Soules.

* *Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make* us a king to judge us like all the nations.—1 Sam. viii. 5.

arte growen into age. Geue vs a King? Thy ſonnes walke not in thy wayes. What a heuynes was thys to

Samuel was ſorye for the ſwaruyng of hys ſonne[s] from hys wayes.

father Samuels herte, to here that hys ſonnes (whom he hadde ſo well brought vppe) ſhoulde ſwarue from hys wayes that he had walked in. Father Samuel goeth to god to know hys wyll and pleaſure in thys matter, God anſwered, let them haue a Kynge. They haue not caſte the awaye but me, that I ſhoulde not raygne

i. Sam. viii.

ouer them. Thys is theyr grounde that ſaye a kyng is an odiouſe thing and not acceptable before the face of God. Thus they force

A place vyolentyd and forſyd to ſerue for other purpoſe then it was euer meant.

and violent thys place to make for theyr purpoſe, wher no ſuch thynge is mente. Shewe the Iſraelites (ſayth god) and teſtify to them a Kynges authorite, and what thing a kyng is, and what a kinge will do. And ye wyl not perſwade them. I wyll not here them hereafter, when they ſhal crie vnto me. I muſte nedes confeſſe that the Iewes treſpaſſed againſt almighty

Wherin the entent of the Iewes, dyd consyst.

God in aſking of a King. But hear is the matter, in what thynge ther offence ſtode, whether abſolutelye in aſkynge a kyng or in anye other circumſtaunce. It was in a circumſtaunce. They ſayed not. Aſke,

The Iewes offendyd in thre thynges

kynge of God: but make vs a kynge to iudge vs as al other nacions haue. They would haue a Kynge of theyr owne ſwinge and of their owne election, as thoughe they paſte not of God a nother poynte there was pryde. They would lyke the heathen and iudged vnder kinges as their Thyrdly, they offended God becauſe they aſked a kynge to the iniury and wronge of good father Samuel, depoſe hym, ſo thys was a wrong toward Samuel. It was not with Samuell and hys children

A comparison betwene Samuel and his ſonnes, and E[l]y and hys ſonnes.

lyke as wyth Ealy and hischildren Hophny and Phines. They were cruel hokes takyng the fleſhe out of when that ſacrifice was offered

brought the people into a contempt

They were lecherers. Theyr ſynne were manifeſtlye and notoriouſly knowen: but theyr father Elye knowynge and herynge of it dyd blame them, but nothinge to purpoſe, he dyd not erneſtly and ſubſtancially chaſtiſe them, and therefore he was iuſtlye depoſed of God. The ſynnes of Samuelles ſonnes were not knowen, they were not ſo notorious, wherfore it was not wyth father Samuell as it was wyth Elye, hys ſonnes fautes were takynge of brybes, and peruertynge of iudgementes. Ye knowe that, bryberye is a ſecrete faute, and therefore it was not knowen. It was done vnder a coloure and a pretence of iuſtice, hidlye and couertly done. Therfore becauſe it ſtode in brybes it was not like in Samuell as in Ely. It is a daungerous thynge to be in offyce for. *qui attingit picem coinquinabitur ab ea*, He yat medleth wyth pitch is like to be ſpotted with it. Bribes may be aſſembled to pitch, for euen as pytche dothe pollute theyr handes that medle with it: ſo brybes wyl brynge you to peruertynge of iuſtyce. Beware of pytch, you iudges of the worlde, brybes wyl make you peruert iuſtice. Why you wil ſay. We touche none. No mary. But my Myſtres your wyfe hath a fyne fynger ſhe toucheth it for you or els you haue a ſeruaunt a *Muscribus* ☞ he wyl ſay yf you wyl come to my maſter and offer him a yoke of oxen, you ſhal ſpede neuer the worſſe but I thincke my Mayſter wil take none, when he hath offered them to ye maiſter, then commes another ſeruaunt and ſayes. If you wyl bring them to the clarke of the kichen, you ſhallbe remembred the better. Thys is a fryerly faſſion that wyll receyue no monye in theyr handes but wyll haue it put vpon theyr ſleues. A goodly rag of popyſhe religion. They be lyke graye fryers, they wyll not be ſene to receyue no brybes *them ſelues but haue* other to receiue for them.

Ely sonnes were leacherers and manyfest offenders. i. Samuel

Samuels Sonnes wer brybers and peruerters of Iudgement.

Brybes are lyke pyche.

Anglice a receyuer of his masters brybes.

A fryerly faſhion in refuſynge of brybes. A goodly rage of popyrie religion.

Thoughe Samuell ſonnes were priuye bry
kepte the thynge verye cloſe, yet the crye o
ple brought it to Samuell, It was a hyd
ſynne. For men in thys poynte, woulde ſa
brace it and make a ſhewe of vpryght dealyn

But suche men carrye pryde in their bosomes that accuseth them.

they be moſt gyltye, Neuerthel
gere came out. Oh wycked ſo
brought both theyr father to d
and them ſelues to ſhame. Whe

Samuel woulde not be partaker of his ſonnes offences.

herde of theyr ſaut, he went not
excuſe theyr fautes. He would
wyth hys ſonnes. He woulde n
municare peccatis alienis. Be partaker wyth h
offences, he ſayed. *Ego ſenui, ecce filii mei
ſunt.** As ſone as he hearde of it, he dely
ſonnes to the people to be punyſhed. He w
aboute to excuſe them, nor ſayed not, th
fyrſt tyme, beare wyth them, but preſented
and by to the people ſayinge: Loe here the
theym, do wyth theym accordynge to theyr
Oh. I woulde ther were no more bearers
mens ſynnes, then this good father Samuell
hearde of late of a notable bloudſhed. *Au*
S. Paule and ſo do I. I know it not, but I
it. Ther was a ſearcher in london, which ex
his office diſpleaſed a marchaunt man, in ſo n
when he was doinge his office, they were a
the marchant man threatned hym, the ſearch
the kyng ſhuld not loſe hys cuſtome. T
chant goes me home and ſharpe[n]s his woodk
comes a gaine and knockes hym on ye
killes him, thei yat told me yat tale ſai it
at, thei loke thorow ther ſyngers and wil not

Weyther it be taken vp wyth a pardon or

Ye but it were better to go to God then to be borne to the deuyll.

not tel, but this I am ſure, and yf
wyth ſuch matters the deuil ſh
awai to hel. Bloudſhed and m
haue no bearing. It is a h

* I am old and grayheaded; and, behold, my sons xii. 2.

hedynge and eſpecially voluntary :r and prepenſed murder. For in rye God ſayeth it poluteth the whole :. *Polluitur illa terra, etc. et non poteſt i ſine ſanguine.** The lande cannot be purged enſed agayne tyl his bloud be ſhed that ſhed it. It offyce of kyng to ſe ſuch murders puniſhed with *Non fruſtra geſtat gladium.*† What wyl ye make ynge? He beareth a ſwerde before not a Pecokes fether. I go not a o ſtyrre you nowe to crudelitye, but ke agaynſte bearynge of bloudſhed. bearyng muſte be loked vpon. In certayne of murther ſuch great circumſtaunces may be, ie kynge may pardon a murther. But if I were ye to be of counſaylle, or if I were aſked myne , I wolde not haue the kynge to pardon a volun- murther, a prepenſed murther.

Bloudshe- ding and prepen sed mu[r]ther would not be borne with all.

The kynge beareth a swerd before him and not a Pecokes fe- ther.

in tell where one man ſlew an other, in a toun- and was attached vpon the ſame. xii. men were eled, the man hadde frendes, the Shryue laboured nch, the. xii. men ſtacke at it and ſayed, excepte ulde diſburſe. xii crownes they woulde ſynde yltye.

anes were found that the xii. crownes was . The queſt commes in and ſayes not giltye. re was a not gyltye for xii. crownes. This is ng, And ſome of the bench were hanged, thei wel ſerued. This makes men bolde to do mur- nd ſlaughter. We ſhoulde reſerue murderynge e come to oure ennemyes, and the Kynge bydde ht. He that wolde be ſturre him than, were a elow in dede. Crownes?

heyr crownes were ſhauen to the ſhoulders they ſerued well inoughe. I knew where a womanne t wyth chylde, and was a ſhamed at the matter, nte into a ſecrete place, where ſhe hadde no

lood it defileth the land : the blood of him that shed it.—Num cannot be cleansed of xxxv. 33.

women at her trauail and was deliuered of thre chyldren at a byrthe.

She wrounge theyr neckes and caſte theym into a water, and ſo kylde her chyldren. Sodaynelye, ſhe was gaunte agayne, and her neyghboures ſuſpectynge the matter cauſed her to be examened, and ſhe graunted all. Afterwarde ſhe was rayned at the barre for it, and dyſpatched and founde not giltye, throughe bearynge of friendes and brybynge of the iudge.

Where at the ſame ſeſſyons, another poore womanne was hanged for ſtealynge a fewe ragges of a hedg, that were not worthe a crowne.

There was a certayne gentleman a profeſſour of the word of God (he ſpedde neuer the better for that ye maye be ſure) whoo was accuſed of murtheryng of a manne, where vppon he was caſt into pryſon. And by chaunce as he was in pryſon one of hys frendes came vnto hym for to viſite hym, and he declared to hys frende that he was neuer gylty in the murtheringe of the man. So he wente hys wayes, the gentle man was arayned and condempned, and as he wente to hys execution, he ſawe hys frendes ſeruaunte, and ſaid vnto him. Commende me to thy maſter, and I pray the tel hym, I am the ſame man ſtyl I was when he was wyth me.

And if thou tary a whyle, thou ſhalt ſe me dye. There was ſute made for thys mannes pardon, but it coulde not be gotten. Belike the Shriues or ſome other bare hym no good wyll. But he dyed for it. And afterwarde I beynge in the Tower, hauynge leaue to come to the Lieuetenauntes table, I hearde hym ſaye that ther was a man hanged afterwarde, that kylled the ſame manne for whome this Gentylman was put to death. O Lord what bearyng what bolſtering of naughtye matters is thys in a Chryſtian realme? I deſyre youre Maieſtye to remedye the matter, and God graunt you to ſe redres in this realme in your owne perſon

An euyll Shryue may do somewhat for hys frend in a Shyre, he may helpe to hange vp the gyltles.

An Apostrophe to the kynge for redresse of learnyng and bol-

Althoughe my Lord Protector I doe not and the reſte of the counſayle do in

meane whyle all that lyeth in them to redreſſe things. I would ſuch as be rulers, noble men and maiſters ſhold be at thys poynt with theyr ſeruauntes to certify them on thys ſort. If anye man go about to do you wrong I wyl do mi beſt to helpe you in your right. But if thou breke the law thou ſhalte haue iuſtice. If ye wyll be manquellers, murderers, and traunſgreſſours, loke for no bearynge at my handes. A ſtraunge thynge. What nede wee in the vengeaunce to burden our ſelues wyth other mennes ſynnes? Haue we not ſynnes inowe of oure owne? What neade haue I to burden my ſelfe wyth other mennes ſynnes? I haue burdens and. ii. heapes of ſynnes. One hepe of knowen ſinnes, an other of vnknowen ſynnes. I had nede to ſay. *Ab occultis meis munda me domine** O Lord deliuer me from mi hidden and my vnknowe[n] ſynnes.

ſteryng of naughty matters.

A Godly admertisemente for noble men and masters but I feare me it is to Godly to be folowed.

Then if I beare with other mennes ſynnes, I muſte ſaye Deliuer me frome my other mennes ſynnes. A ſtraung ſayinge, from my other mens ſinnes. Who beareth wyth other folkes offences, he communicateth wyth other ſolkes ſynnes. Men haue ſinnes inough of their owne, althoughe they beare not and bolſter vp other men in their naughtines, thys bearinge, this bolſteryng and lokyng thorowe their fingers: is naught. What the ſayr happe ſhould I (or any elſe) encreaſe my burden. Myne other mens ſynnes forgyue me O Lord.

A ſtraunge language they haue hyd ſyns of theyr owne inough althoughe they beare not wyth gyltines of other mens ſynnes.

Oh father Samuell would not beare hys owne ſonnes. He offered hys owne ſonnes to punyſhment. And ſayd. *Ecce filii mei vobiſcum ſunt.*† Euen at the ſyrſte tyme he ſayed. Lo, here they be, I diſcharge my ſelfe, take them vnto you, and as for my parte. *Preſto ſum loqui coram domino et Chriſto eius.*‡ I am

* Cleanse thou me from secret faults.—Psa. xix. 12.

† Behold, my sons are with you.—1 Sam. xii 2

‡ Behold, here I *am*: witness against me before the LORD, and before his anointed: whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken?

here ready to anſwere for my ſelfe, before the Lord and hys anointed. Behold here I am, record of me before the Lorde. *Vtrum cuiuſquam bouem. etc.* Whether I haue taken any mans oxe, ani mans aſſe, or whether I haue done any man wronge, or hurte anye man, or taken any bribes at anye mans hande. I canne commende the Englyſh tranſlation that doth interprete *munera* bribes, not gyftes. They anſwered, naye forſooth. We knowe no ſuch thinges in you. *Teſtis eſt mihi deus,** ſaieth he, God is witnes, *Quod nihil inueneritis in manu mea.** That you haue found nought in my handes. Fewe ſuche Samuels are in Englande nor in the world.

Why dyd Samuell thys? marye to purge hym ſelfe, he was enforced to it, for he was wrongfullye depoſed.

Then bi this ye mai perceiue the fault of the Iewes, for they offended not God in aſkynge for a kinge but for aſking for a kinge to the wrongyng and depoſicion of good father Samuel. If after Samuels death the people had aſked of God a kyng they hadde not faulted, but it is no ſmale faut to put an innocent out of his office. Kyng Dauid likewyſe commaunded hys people to be numbred, and therewyth offended God greuouſly Why? might he not knowe the numbre of hys people? Yes, it was not the numbringe of the people that offended God, for a king may numbre hys people, but he dyd it of a pride of an elation of mynd, not according to Gods ordinaunce, but as hauinge a truſt in the numbre of hys men, thys offended God.

Lykewiſe the Iewes aſked a kynge, and therewyth they offended not God. But they aſked hym with ſuche cyrcumſtaunces, that God was offended wyth them.

It is no ſmale faute to putte a iuſte man oute of hys office, and to depoſe hym vnworthely.

or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received *any* bribe to blind *mine* eyes therewith? and I will restore *it* you.—1 Sam. xii. 3.

* And they said, Thou hast not defrauded us, nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken ought of any man's hand.

† And he said unto them, the LORD *is* witness against you, and his anointed *is* witness this day, that ye have not found ought in my hand. And they answered, He *is* witness.—1 Sam. xii. 4, 5.

To chofe a Kynge contraryinge the ordinaunce of God is a caftyng away of God and not of a kyng.

Therfore doubt not, but the tytle of a kynge, is a lawefull thynge, is a lawefull tytle, as of other maieftrates. Onelye let ye kings take hede that thei do as it becometh Kynges to do, that thei do their office wel. It is a great thing, a chargeable thynge. Let them beware that they do not. *Communicare peccatis alienis.**

That they beare not wyth other mens faultes for they fhal geue a ftrayte accounte for all that perifheth, thorowe theyr necligence. We perceyue nowe what thys texte meaneth.

It is wrytten in the laſte of Iudicum. *In diebus illis non erat rex in Iſrael.*† In thofe dayes there was no kynge in Iſrael euerye manne dyd that whyche ſemed ryght in hys owne eyes. Men were then allowed to do what they woulde. When men maye be alowed to do what they wyl, then is it as good to haue no king at al. Here is a wonderfull mater, that vnpreching prelats ſhuld be ſuffered ſo long. They can alledge for them ſelues. vii C. [ſeven hundred] yeares. Thys whyle the Realme had bene as good to haue no kyng, likewiſe theſe brybing iudges hathe bene ſuffered of a long tyme, and then it was, *Quaſi non fuiſſet rex in anglia.* To ſuffer this is aſmuch to ſay, There is no king in England, it is the dutye of a kynge to haue al ſtates ſet in order to do their office. I haue troubled you to long. I wil make an end brefly. *Beati qui audiunt verbum.*‡ Bleſſed be thei yat hear the word of god, but ſo that thei folowe it, and kepe it in credite, in memori, not to depraue it and ſlaunder it, and bring the preachers out of credite, but that folowe it in theyr life, and liue after it. He graunt you al that bleſſing that made both you and me. Amen.

* Neither be partaker of other mans sins. -1 Tim. v. 22.

† In those days there was no king in Israel.—Judg. xxi. 25.

‡ Luke xi. 28.

¶ The sixte

Sermon of Mayster Hughe

Latimer, whyh he preached before the kynges Maiesty wyth in hys Graces Palaie at Westminster the xii. daye of Aprill.

*Væcunque ſcripta ſunt ad noſtr doctrinam ſcripta ſunt.** Al thin that are written, they are written be our doctrine. What doctrin written for vs in the. viii, Chap of the fyrſt boke, of the kynge dyd partely ſhewe vnto you (n honorable audience) this day night, of that good man father Samuell, ye good iu howe good a man he was, what helpers and coadiuto he toke vnto him, to haue hys offyce well diſcharg I tolde you alſo of the wyckednes of hys ſonnes, h they toke bribes, and lyued wyckedlye, and by meanes, brought both theyr father, and them ſelue depoſition. And howe the people dyd offende God aſking a Kynge in father Samuells tyme. And h father Samuel was put from his offyce, who deſer it not. I opened to you alſo, howe father Sam cleares hym ſelfe, that he know not ye fauts of ſonnes he was no bearer with his ſonnes he was for it, when he herde it, but he wold not beare them in their wickednes. *Filii mei vobiſcum ſunt.*† ſons are with you ſaith he. Do wyth theym accordy to theyr deſertes, I wyl not maintayne them, nor b with them. After that he cleares him ſelf at kinges ſete, that the people had nothinge to bu

* Rom. xv. 4. † 1 Sam. xii. 2.

hym with al, neyther money, nor money worth. In treatinge of that part, I chaunced to ſhewe you, what I heard of a man that was ſlayne, and I heare ſaye it was not well taken.

Forſoth I entend not to empayre anye mannes eſtimation or honeſtye, and they that enforce it to that, enforce it not to my meanynge. I ſayd I heard, but of ſuche a thynge, and toke occaſion by that, that I heard, to ſpeake agaynſte the thynge, that I knewe to be noughte, that no man ſhould beare with any man to the mayntenaunce of voluntary and prepenſed murder. And I here ſaye ſyns, the man was otherwiſe an honeſt man, and they that ſpake for hym, are honeſt men. I am inclinable inoughe to credyte it. I ſpoke not by cauſe I woulde haue anye mannes honeſtye impayred. Onelye I dyd as Saynct. Paule dyd, who hearynge, of the Corinthyans, that there ſhoulde be contencions and myſordre among them, dyd wryte vnto theym that he harde, and there vpon by occaſion of hearynge he ſet furth verye holſome doctryne of the ſupper of the Lorde. We might not haue lacked that doctryne I tel you. Be it ſo the Corinthians had no ſuche contencions among them, as Paule wrote of, Be it ſo, they had not miſordred them ſelues, it was neyther of nor on, to that that Paule ſayed. The matter laye in that, that vpon hearynge he would take occaſion to ſet out the good and true doctrine. So I did not affirme it to be true yat I hard. I ſpake it to aduertiſe you, to beware of bearinge, wyth wylful and prepenſed murder. I wold haue nothing enforſed againſt any man. This was myne entent and meanynge. I do not knowe, what ye call chaunce medly in the lawe, it is not for my ſtudye. I am a ſcholer in ſcripture in gods boke, I ſtudy that I knowe what voluntary murder is before God. If I ſhall fal out wyth a man. He is angrye *wyth me*, and I wyth hym, and lackynge *oportunitie and place*, we ſhall put it of for that tyme, *in the meane ſeaſon I* prepare my wepon, and ſharpe

it agaynſte a nother tyme, I ſwell and boyle in thys paſſion towardes hym. I ſeke hym, we medle together, it is my chaunce by reaſon my weapon is better then his, and ſo furth, to kyl him, I geue hym his dethes ſtroke, in my vengeaunce and anger.

Thys call I voluntarye murder in ſcripture, what it is in the lawe I can not tell. It is a greate ſynne, and therefore I call it voluntarye. I remember what a greate Clarke wrytteth of thys.

Omne peccatum adeo eſt Voluntarium ut niſi ſit voluntarium non ſit peccatum.

Euerye ſynne (ſayeth he) is ſo voluntarye, that if it be not voluntarye, it can not be called ſynne. Synne is no actuall ſynne, if it be not voluntarye. I would we woulde all knowe oure faultes and repente, that that is done, is done, it can not be called backe agayne. God is mercifull, the Kynge is mercifull, heare we maye repente, thys is the place of repentaunce When we are gone hence, it is to late then to repent. And let vs be content wyth ſuch order as the magyſtrates ſhall take. But ſuer it is a perillous thing to beare wyth anye ſuche matter. I toulde you what I hard ſaye, I woulde haue no mans honeſtye empayred by me tellynge. I harde ſaye ſyns of a nother murder, that a Spanyarde ſhoulde kyll an Engliſheman, and ronne hym thorowe wyth hys ſwerde: they ſaye he was a tall man. But I here it not that the Spanyarde was hanged for hys laboure. If I had, I woulde haue tould you it to. They fell out, as the tale goeth, about a whore. O Lord what whordom is vſed nowe a dayes. As I here by the relacion of honeſte men, whyche tell it not after a worldlye ſorte, as thoughe they reioyſed at it, but heuely, wyth heuy hertes, howe God is dyſhonored by whoredome in thys cytie of London. Yea the bancke, when it ſtode, was neuer ſo commune. If it be true that is toulde, it is maruayle yat it doeth not ſincke, and that the earth gapeth not and ſwalloweth it vp. It is wonderfull that the citye of London doeth ſuffe

ſuch whordom vnpuniſhed. God hath ſuffered long of hys great lenitie, mercye, and benyngnitye, but he wyl puniſhe ſharply at length, if we do not repente. There is ſum place in London, as they ſaye, *immunitie, impunitie.* What ſhould I call it? a preueledged place for whoredome. The Lorde Mayer hath nothynge to do there, the Sheriffes, thei can not medle wyth it. And the queſte, they not enquire of it, and there men do brynge theyr whores, yea other mennes wyues, and there is no reformacion of it.

There is ſuche dyſynge howſes alſo, they ſaye, as hath not bene wonte to be, where yong Gentlemenne dyſe away their thrifte, and where dyſynge is, there are other ſolyes alſo.

For the loue of God lette remedye be hadde, lette vs wreſtle and ſtryue agaynſte ſynne?

Menne of Englande in tymes paſte, when they woulde exercyſe theym ſelues (for we muſt nedes haue ſome recreation, oure bodyes canne not endure wythoute ſome exercyſe) they were wonte to goo a brode in the fyeldes a ſhootynge, but nowe is turned in to gloſſyng, gullyng, and whoring wythin the houſſe.

The arte of ſhutynge hath ben in tymes paſt much eſtemed in this realme, it is a gyft of God that he hath geuen vs to excell all other nacions wyth all. It hath bene goddes inſtrumente, whereby he hath gyuen vs manye victories agaynſte oure enemyes. But nowe we haue taken vp horynge in tounes, in ſteede of ſhutyng in the fyeldes. A wonderous thynge, that ſo excellente a gift of God ſhoulde be ſo lytle eſtemed. I deſyer you my Lordes, euen as ye loue the honoure, and glory of God, and entende to remoue his indignacion, let ther be ſente fourth ſome proclimacion, ſome ſharpe proclimacion to the iuſtices of peace, for they do not their dutye. Iuſtices now be no iuſtices, ther be manye good actes made for thys matter *already. Charge* them vpon their allegi*aunce yat this ſingular* benefit of God maye be *practiſed, and that it be* not turned into bollyng,

gloſſyng and whoryng wythin the townes, for they be negligente in executyng theſe lawes of ſhuting. In my tyme, my poore father, was as diligent to teach me to ſhote, as to learne anye other thynge, and ſo I thynke other menne dyd theyr children. He taughte me how to drawe, how to laye my bodye in my bowe, and not to drawe wyth ſtrength of armes as other nacions do, but with ſtrength of the bodye I had my bowes boughte me accordyng to my age and ſtrength as I encreaſed in them, ſo my bowes were made bigger, and bigger, for men ſhal neuer ſhot well, excepte they be broughte vp in it. It is a goodly art, a holſome kynde of exerciſe, and much commended in phiſike. Marcilius Sicinus in hys boke *de triplici uita* (it is a greate while ſins I red hym nowe) but I remembre he commendeth this kinde of exerciſe, and ſayth, that it wreſtleth agaynſt manye kyndes of diſeaſes. In the reuerence of God, let it be continued. Let a Proclamation go furth, chargynge the Iuſtices of Peace, yat they ſe ſuche Actes and ſtatutes kept, as were made for this purpoſe. I wyl to my matter. I entend this day to entreate of a pece of ſcripture, written in the begynynge of the. v. Chapter of Luke. I am occaſioned to take thys place by a boke ſent, to the Kynges May[e]ſtye that deade is, by Mayſter Poel. It is a texte, that he doeth greatlye abuſe, for the ſupremitye. He rackes it, and vyolentes it, to ſerue for the mayntenaunce of the byſhop of Rome. And as he did enforce the tother place, that I entreated of laſt, ſo dyd he inforce thys alſo, to ſerue hys matter. The ſtorye is thys.

Our Sauioure Chriſte was come nowe to the bancke of the water of Genezareth.

The people were come to hym and flocked aboute hym to here hym preache.

And Ieſus toke a boote that was ſtandynge at the poole, it was ſymonnes bote, and wente into it. And ſittyng in the bote he preached to them that were on the bancke. And whan he had preached and taught

them, he ſpake to Simon and bade hym launch out fourther into the depe, and loſe hys nettes, to catche ſyſhe. And Symon made aunſwere, and ſayed. Mayſter, we haue labored all nyght, but we caught nothing howe be it at thy commaundement becauſe thou byddeſt vs, we wyll go to it agayne. And ſo they dyd, and caught a greate draught, a miraculus draught ſo much that the net bracke, and they called to theyr fellowes that were bye, for they had. ii. botes to come to healpe them, and they came and filled both theyr botes ſo full, that they were nygh drounynge.* Thys is the ſtorye: That I maye declare thys texte ſo, that it may be to the honoure of God and edificacion of youre ſoules and myne boeth. I ſhall deſier you to healpe me wyth your prayer in the whiche. etc.

Factum eſt autem. (Sayth the text) *cum turba irrueret in eum.** Sayncte Luke telles the ſtorye, and it came to paſſe, when the people preſed vpon him, ſo that he was in perill to be caſt into the pond they ruſhed ſo faſte vpon hym and made ſuch throng to him. A wonderous thynge, what a deſyre the people had in thoſe dayes to heare oure ſauioure Chriſte preache, and the cauſe may be gathered of the latter end of the Chapter that went before. Oure Sauioure Chriſt had preached vnto them, and healed the ſycke folkes of ſuche diſeaſes and maladies as they had and therefore the people woulde haue retayned hym ſtyll. But he made them aunſwere, and ſayed.

* And it came to pass, that, as the people pressed upon him to hear the word of God, he stood by the lake of Gennesaret,

And saw two ships standing by the lake: but the fishermen were gone out of them, and were washing *their* nets.

And he entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's, and prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land. And he sat down, and taught the *people out of the ship*

Now when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon, Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught.

And Simon answering said unto him, Master, we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing: nevertheless at thy word I will let down the net.

And when they had this done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes: and their net brake.

And they beckoned unto *their* partners, which were in the other ship, that they should come and help them. And they came, and filled both the ships, so that they began to sink. —Luke v. 1—7.

*Et aliis ciuitatibus oportet me euangelizare regnum dei, nam in hoc missus sum.** I must preache the kyngedome of god to other cyties also, I muste shewe them my fathers wyll: for I came for that purpose. I was sente to preache the worde of God. Our Sauioure Christ sayed, howe he muste not tarye in one place, for he was sent to the worlde to preache euerye where. Is it not a meruaylous thyng, that oure vnpreaching prelates can read thys place, and yet preach no more then they do. I maruayle, that they can go quyetlye to bed, and se how he allureth them with hys example, to be diligente in theyr, office. Here is a godly lesson also howe oure Sauioure Christe fled from glory. Yf these ambiciouse parsons, that climbe to honoure by bywal[k]es inordinatly, would consider this example of Iesus christ, they shold come to more honour then they do: for when thei seke honour by such bywalkes, thei come to confucion honour foloweth them yat fle from it. Our sauiour Christ, gat hym a waye erlye in the mornynge, and went vnto the wildernes. I woulde they woulde folowe thys example of Christe, and not seke honoure by suche by walkes as they do. But what dyd the people? when he had hyd hym selfe, they smelled him out in the Wyldernes, and came vnto him, by flockes, and folowed hym a greate nombre. But where reade you that a greate nomber of scribes and Pharises, and Byshoppes followed hym. There is a doctour that wryteth of thys pla[c]e, his name is Doctoure Gorrham, Nycolas Corrham, I knewe hym to be a schoole Doctoure a greate while a go, but I neuer knewe hym to be an enterpreter of scripture til nowe of late: he sayeth thus, *maior deuocio in laicis Vetulis quam in clericis, etc.* There is more deuocion sayeth he, in laye folke, and olde Wyues, These symple folke, the vulger people, then in the clarkes, they be better affecte to the worde of God, then those, that be of the cleargye. I maruayle not

* And he said unto them, I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also: for therefore am I sent.—Luke iv. 43.

at the ſentence, but I marnayle to fynd ſuch a ſentence in ſuch a doctor. Yf I ſhoulde ſaye ſo much, it would be ſayed to me, that it is an euyll byrd that defiles hys owne neſt, and *Nemo læditur niſi a ſeipſo.* There is no man hurte, but of hys owne ſelfe. There was veryfied the ſayinge of oure Sauioure Chriſte Whiche he ſpake in an other place. *Vbicunque fuerit cadauer, ibi congregabuntur aquilæ.** Whereſoeuer a deade carion is, thither wil ye e[a]gles gather. Our ſauiour chriſt compares hymſelfe to a deade carrion, for where the carrion is, there wyl the Egles be, and though it be an euyl ſmel to vs. and ſtynckes in a mans nooſe yet it is a ſwete ſmell to the Egles, they wyl ſeke it out. So the people ſought oute Chryſt, they ſmelt hys ſauour, he was a ſwete ſmell to them. He is *Odor uitæ ad uitam,*† the ſmel of life to life. Thei flocket about him lyke Egles. Chriſt was the carrion, and the people were the Egles.

Thei had no pleaſure to heare the Scribes and the Phariſes thei ſtancke in their noſe, their doctrine was vnſauery, it was but of Lolions, of decimations of Anets ſeade, and Cummyn and ſuche gere. There was no comfort in it for ſoore conſciences, there was no conſolation for wounded ſoules, there was no remedye for ſynnes, as was in Chriſtes doctryne. Hys doctryne eaſed the burden of the ſoule, it was ſwete to the common people, and ſower to ye Scribes. It was ſuch comforte and pleaſure to them, that thei came flockyng aboute hym. Wherefore came thei? *Vt audirent uerbum dei,*‡ it was a good commyng. They came to heare the word of God. It was not to be thought that they came all of one mynde to here the worde of GOD. It is lykely yat in ſo grat a multitude, ſome came of curioſitie, to here ſome nouelles, and from cam ſmelling a ſwete ſauour, to haue conſolation and comfort of Gods word for we cannot be ſaued

* *For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.*—*Matt. xxiv. 28.*

† The savour of life unto life.—2 Cor. ii. 16.

‡ To hear the word of God.—Luke v. 1: see text at p. 163.

without heringe of the worde. It is a neceſſarye waye to ſaluation.

We can not be ſaued wythout fayeth, and fayth commeth by hearynge of the worde. *Fides ex auditu.** And howe ſhal they heare wythout a preacher? I tel you it is the foteſteppes of the ladder of heauen, of oure ſaluacion. There muſt be preachers if we loke to be ſaued. I toulde you of thys gradacion before in the tenth to the Romaynes. Conſider it well. I had rather ye ſhoulde come of a naughtye mynde, to heare the worde of God, for noueltye, or for curioſite to heare ſome paſtime, then to be awaye. I had rather ye ſhoulde come as the tale is by the Gentelwoman of London one of her neyghbours mette her in the ſtreate, and ſayed meſtres whether go ye, Mary ſayed ſhe, I am goynge to S. Tomas of Acres to the ſermon, I coulde not ſlepe al thys laſte nyght, and I am goynge now thether, I neuer fayled of a good nap there, and ſo I had rather ye ſhould go a napping to the ſermons, than not to go at al. For with what mind ſo euer ye come, thoughe ye come for an ill purpoſe, yet peraduenture ye maye chaunce to be caught or ye go, the preacher maye chaunce to catche you on hys hoke. Rather then ye ſhould not come at al, I would haue you come of curioſitie, as Sayncte Auguſtyne came to heare Sainct Ambroſe. When Sayncte Auguſtyne came to Myllane, (he telles the ſtorye hymſelfe in the ende of his boke of confeſſions) he was very deſirous to here S Ambroſe, not for anye loue he had to the doctrine yat he taughte, but to here his eloquence, whether it was ſo greate, as the ſpeache was, and as the brute went. Wel, before he departed Sayncte ambroſe caught hym on hys hoke and conuerted hym ſo, that he became of a Maniche, and of a platoniſte a good chriſtian, a defender of chriſtes religion, and of the fayeth afterwarde. So I woulde haue you come to ſermones. It is declared in many mo places of ſcripture, howe neceſſarye preachynge is, as thys. *Euangelium*

* Faith *cometh* by hearing.—Rom. x. VI.

*eſt potentia dei, ad ſalutem omni credenti.** The preachynge of the Goſpel, is the power of god to euery man that doth beleue. He meanes gods word opened, It is ye inſtrument, and the thing wherby we are ſaued. Beware beware ye diminiſhe not thys office, for if ye do, ye decaie goddes power to al that do beleue. Chriſte ſayeth conſonaunte to the ſame. *Niſi quis renatus fuerit e ſupernis, non poteſt uidere regnum dei.*†

Except a man be borne a gayne from a boue, he can not ſe the kyngdome of God. He muſte haue a regeneracion: and what is this regeneracion? It is not to be Chriſtened in water (as theſe fyre brandes expound it) and nothynge elles. Howe is it to be expounded then? ſaynct. Peter ſheweth. That one place of Scripture declareth another. It is the circumſtaunce, and collacion of places that make ſcripture playne. *Regeneramur autem* ‡ (ſayeth Saynćte Peter) and we be borne a gayne. Howe? *Non ex ſemine mortali, ſed immortali.*‡ Not by a mortall ſeade, but by an immortall. What is this immortall ſeade? *per ſermonem dei uiuentis.*‡ By the word of the liuyng God, by the worde of God preached and opened. Thus commeth in oure newe byrth. Here you maye ſe how neceſſarye thys offyce is to oure ſaluacion This is the thynge that the deuill wraſtleth moſt agaynſte, it hath bene all hys ſtudye to decaye thys office, he worketh agaynſte it as muche as he can, he hath preuailed to much, to much in it. He hath ſet vppe a ſtate of vnpreachynge prelacye in this Realme this. vii. c. [ſeven hundred] yere, A ſtate of vnpreachyng prelacy He hath made vnpreachynge prelates. He hath ſtyrred vp by heapes to perſecute thys office in ye title of hereſy he hath ſturred vppe the Magiſtrates to perſecute it in the title of ſedicion. And he hath ſtirred vp the people to perſecute it wyth exprobacions and ſlaun-

* The gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.—Rom. i. 16.

† Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.—John iii. 3.

‡ Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.—1 Pet. i. 23.

derous wordes, as by the name of newe learnynge ſtraunge preacheyng and wyth impropriacions he hath turned preachynge in to priuate Maſſes. If a prieſte ſhoulde haue leſt Maſſe vndon On a ſonday within theſe ten yeres, all En[g]lande ſhoulde haue wondered at it, but they might haue left of the ſermon. xx. ſondayes and neuer haue ben blamed. And thus by theſe impropriations priuate Maſſes were ſet vp, and preachynge of gods worde troden vnder foote. But what doth he now? what doeth he now? he ſterres men vp to outragious rearyng of rentes, that pore men ſhal not be able to fynd their children at the ſchole to be diuines. What an vnreaſonable deuill is thys? he prouides a grate while before hand for the time that is to come. He hath broughte vp nowe of late the moſt monſtrouſe kynde of couetouſnes that euer was hearde of. He hath inuented fee fermyng of benefices, and al to decaye thys office of preachynge, in ſo much that when any man heare after ſhall haue a benefice, he maye go where he wyll for any houſe he ſhall haue to dwell vpon, or any glebe lande to kepe hoſpitalitie withal, but he muſt take vp a chamber in an Alehouſe and there ſit and plaie at ye tables all the day. A goodlye curate. He hath cauſed alſo through this monſtrous kinde of couetouſnes, patrons to ſel theyr benefices. Yea what doth he more? He gettes him to the vniuerſitie, and cauſeth great men and ſquiers to ſend theyr ſonnes thither, and put out pore ſcholars yat ſhould be diuines: for theyr parentes entend not they ſhall be preachers, but yat they may haue a ſhewe of lerninge. Tut, it were to long to declare vnto you what deſceit and meanes ye diuel hath found to decaie ye office of ſaluacion, this office of regeneration. But to return to my matter. The people came to here ye word of god, thei hard him with ſilence I remember nowe a ſaying of Sayncte Chriſoſtome, and peraduenture it myght come here after in better place, but yet *I wyll* take it, whiles it commeth to my mind. The

ying is this. *Et loquentem eum audierunt in ſilentio, eriem locutionis non interrumpentes.* They harde hym ſayeth he) in ſilence, not interruptynge the order of his preachinge. He meanes they hard hym quietely, with out any ſhouelynge of feete, or walkynge vp and downe. Suerly it is an yl myſorder, that folke ſhalbe walkyng vp and downe in the ſermon tyme (as I haue ſene in this place thys Lente) and there ſhalbe ſuche buſſynge and buffynge in the preachers eare, that it, maketh hym often tymes to forget hys matter. O let vs conſider the Kynges Maieſtyes goodnes, Thys place was prepared for banketynge of the bodye, and hys Maieſtye hath made it a place for the comforte of the ſoule, and to haue the worde of God preached in it, ſhewynge hereby that he would haue all hys ſubiectes at it, if it myghte be poſſible. Conſider what the Kynges Maieſtye hathe done for you, he alloweth you all to heare wyth him. Conſider where ye be, fyrſt ye oughte to haue a reuerence to Godds word, and thoughe it be preached by pore men, yet it is the ſame worde that oure Sauioure ſpake.

Conſider alſo the preſence of the Kynges Maieſtie Gods highe vycare in earth, hauyng a reſpect to his perſonag. ye ought to haue reuerence to it, and conſider that he is goddes hyghe miniſter, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him of ye heryng of gods word. This benefit of his would be thankefully taken, and it would be highly eſtemed. Hear in ſilence, as Chriſoſtom ſayeth. It maye chaunce that ſume in the companye may fall ſicke, or be diſeaſed, if therebe any ſuche, let them go away, with ſilence, let them leaue their ſalutacions tyll they come in the courte, let them departe with ſilence. I toke occaſion of Chriſoſtomes wordes to admonyſhe you of thys thynge. What ſhold be ye cauſe, that our Sauioure Chriſte wente into the bote? the ſcripture calleth it *Nauis or nauicula.* But it was no ſhip. it was a fiſhers bote, thei were not able haue a ſhyp. What ſhoulde be the cauſe, why he

would not ſtand on the banke and preach ther but he deſired Peter to drawe ye bote ſom what from ye ſhore into ye middes of the wate What ſhold be ye cauſe? What ſhold be th cauſe? One cauſe was, for that he might ſit thei more commodiouſly, then on ye banke, an othe cauſe was, for yat he was like to be thruſt into y pond of ye peple yat came vnto him. Whi? ou ſauiour Chriſt might haue with ſtode them, he wa ſtrong inough to haue kept hymſelfe from thruſtin into the water. He was ſtronger, then they al, and i he had liſted he myght haue ſtode on the water, a wel as he walked on the water, truth it is, ſo migh he haue done in dede. But as it was ſome tyme hy pleaſure to ſhewe the poore of hys Godheade, ſo h declared nowe the infirmitie and imbicilitye of hy manheade. Heare he geueth vs an example what w ſhall do, we muſt not tempt God by any miracles, ſ long as we may walke by ordinary wayes. As our Sauioure Chriſt when the diuel hadde hym on the top of the temple, and wold haue had hym caſte hym ſelfe doune, he made hym this aunſwere. *Non tentabis dominum deum tuum.** Thou ſhalt not tempt thy lor God, as if he ſhoulde haue ſayed. We maye not tempt God at all, it is no tyme nowe to ſhewe any miracles, ther is an other way to go doune, by greſſinges. Thus he dyd to ſhewe vs an example, that we muſte not tempte God, except it be in extreme neceſſitye, and when we cannot other wayes remedy the matter t leaue it all to God, elles we maye not tempt the maieſtye of his deyte. Beware temptynge of God? wel, he commes to Simons bote, and why rather t Simons bote then an other. I wyl aunſwere, as I finde in experience in my ſelfe. I came hither to day from Lambeth in a whirry and when I came to take m bote, the water men came about me, as the manc *is, and* he wold haue me, and he wold haue *me.* I toke one of them. Nowe ye wyll aske w

* Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.—Matt. iv. 7.

why I came in yat bote, rather then in another, becauſe I woulde go into that that I ſe ſtande nexte me, it ſtode more commodiouſlye for me. And ſo dyd Chriſte by Simons bote. It ſtode nerer for him, he ſawe a better ſeate in it. A good natural reaſon. Nowe come the papiſtes, and they wyll make a miſterie of it, they wyll pyke out the ſupremeſy of the Biſhop of Rome in Peters bote. We maye make allegories inoughe of euerye place in ſcripture, but ſuerli, it muſt nedes be a ſymple matter that ſtandes on ſo weke a grounde. But ye ſhall ſe further. He deſired Peter to thruſte out hys bote from the ſhore. He deſired hym. Heare was a good leſſon for the Biſhop of Rome, and al hys colledge of Cardinalles to learne humilitye and gentelnes. *Rogabat eum.** He deſired hym, it was gently done of hym, with out any auſteritie, but wyth al vrbanitie, myldnes, and ſoftnes and humilitye. What an example is thys, that he giues them heare? but they ſpie it not, they can ſe nothynge but the ſupremycye of the Byſhop of Rome. A wounderous thynge what ſyghte they haue. They ſe nothynge but the ſupremicye of the Byſhop of Rome. *Imperabatis ouibus meis*, ſayeth Ezechiell, *cum auaricia, et auſteritate, et diſperſæ ſunt abſque paſtore.*†

Ye haue ruled my ſhepe and commaunded them with greate lordlines, auſteri[t]ye, and power, and thus ye haue diſperſed my ſhepe a brode, and why? Ther was no ſhephard, they had wanted one a great while. Rome hath bene many hundred yeres without a good ſhepard. They would not lerne to rule them gently, they had rule ouer them, but it was with curſſings excommunicacions, with great auſterite, and thunderboltes, and the diuel and al, to mayntaine their vnpreachyng prelacye. I beſeche God open their eyes, yat they maye ſe the trueth, and not be blinded with thoſe thinges, that no man can ſe but they. It foloweth in the texte. *Sedens docebit de naui.*‡ He taught ſittyng.

* He prayed him.—Luke v. 3.
† With force and *with* cruelty have *ye ruled them.* And they were scattered, because *there is* no shepherd.—Ezek. xxxiv. 4, 5.
‡ [He] taught the people out of the ship.—Luke v. 3.

Preachers be lyke, were ſitters in thoſe daies, as it i written in a nother place. *Sedent in cathedra moiſi.** They ſette in the chayer of Moſes.

I woulde oure preachers woulde preache ſittynge, o ſtandynge, one waye, or other. It was a godly pulpi that our Sauiour Chriſt hadde gotten hym here. A olde rotten bote. And yet he preached hys father wyll, hys fathers meſſage out of thys pulpyt. He re garded the people more then ye pulpit. He cared no for the pulpit, ſo he myght do the people good. I dede it is to be commended for the preacher to ſtand or ſit, as the place is, but I would not haue it ſo ſuper ſticiouſly eſtemed, but that a good preacher may declar ye word of god ſitting on a horſe, or preching in a tre And yet if this ſhold be done, ye vnpreaching prelatte would laughe it to ſkorne.

And though it be good to haue the pulpit ſet v in churches, that the people may reſort thither, yet woulde not haue it ſo ſuperſticiouſly vſed, but that in prophane place the worde of God might be preache ſome times, and I woulde not haue the people offende wyth all, no more, then they be with our Sauiour Chriſtes preachyng out of a bote.

And yet to haue pulpetes in churches it is very wel done to haue them, but they woulde be occupied, fo it is a vayne thyng to haue them as they ſtand in many churches. I harde of a Byſhop of Englande that went on viſitacion and (as it was the cuſtom) when the Byſhop ſhoulde come and be runge into the toune, the greate belles clapper was fallen doune, the tyall wa broken, ſo that the Byſhop coulde not be runge into the toune. Ther was a greate matter made of thys, an the chiefe of the paryſhe were muche blamed for it i the viſitacion. The Byſhop was ſome what quicke wyth theym, and ſignified that he was muche offended They made theyr aunſweres, and excuſed them ſelues as wel as they coulde, it was a chaunce, ſayd they that ye clapper brake and we coulde not get it amende

* The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat.—Matt. xxiii. 2.

by and by, we muſt tarrye til we can haue done it. It ſhal be amended as ſhortelye as maye be. Amonge the other there was one wyſer then the reſt, and he commes me to the Biſhop. Whi mi Lord, ſayth he, doth your lordſhip mak ſo grat matter of the bell, that lacketh hys clapper? here is a bell, ſayeth he, and poynted to the pulpit, that hath lacked a clapper thys. xx. yeres. We haue a parſon, that fetteth out of thys benefice fiftye poundes euerye yere, but we neuer ſe hym. I warrant you ye Byſhop was an vnpreachyng prelate. He could fynde faute wyth the bel, that wanted a clapper, to ryng hym into the toune, but he could not fynd any faut wyth the parſon that preached not at his benefice. Euer thys office of preachynge hath bene leaſt regarded, it hath ſkante hadde the name of goddes ſeruyce. They muſt ſynge. *Salue feſta dies* aboute the churche, that no man was the better for it, but to ſhewe theyr gaie cotes, and garmentes. I came once my ſelfe to a place, ridyng on a iornay home warde from London, and I ſente worde ouer nyghte into the toune that I would preach there in ye morninge becauſe it was holy day, and me thought it was an holye dayes worcke, The church ſtode in my waye, and I toke my horſſe, and my companye, and went thither, I thoughte I ſhoulde haue founde a greate companye in the churche, and when I came there, the churche dore was faſte locked.

I tarried there halfe an houer and more, at laſt the keye was founde, and one of the pariſhe commes to me and ſayes. Syr thys is a buſye daye wyth vs, we can not heare you, it is Robyn hoodes daye. The pariſhe are gone a brode to gather for Robyn hoode, I praye you let them not. I was fayne there to geue place to Robyn hoode, I thought my rochet ſhoulde haue bene regarded, thoughe I were not, but it woulde not ſerue, it was fayn to geue place to Robyn hoodes men.

It is no laughynge matter my friendes, it is a wep-*ynge matter, a heauy matter,* a heauy matter, vnder *the pretence for gatherynge* for Robyn hoode, a tray-

toure, and a thefe, to put out a preacher, to haue hys office leſſe eſtemed, to prefer Robyn hod before the miniſtracion of Gods word, and al thys hath come of vnpreachynge prelates. Thys Realme hath ben il prouided for, that it hath had ſuche corrupte iudgementes in it, to prefer Robyn hode to goddes worde. Yf the Byſhoppes had bene preachers, there ſhoulde neuer haue bene any ſuche thynge, but we haue a good hope of better. We haue had a good begynnynge, I beſech God to continewe it. But I tell you, it is farre wide, that the people haue ſuche iudgementes, the Byſhoppes they coulde laughe at it. What was that to them? they woulde haue them continewe in their ignoraunce ſtyll, and them ſelues in vnpreachyng prelacye. Wel, ſyttynge, ſyttynge. He ſatte doune and taughte. The texte doeth tell vs that he taughte, but it doeth not tell vs what he taughte. If I were a papiſt I coulde tell what he ſayed. I woulde in the Popes iudgemente ſhewe what he taught. For the Byſhop of Rome hath in *ſcrinio pectoris ſui*, the true vnderſtandynge of Scriptures. Yf he cal a counſayle of colledge of Cardinalles, he hath authoritye to determyne the ſupper of the Lorde, as he dyd at the counſayle of Florence.

And Pope Nicolas, and Byſhoppe Langfrancke ſhal come and expounde thys place, and ſaye, that oure Sauioure Chriſte, ſayed thus. Peter I do meane thys by ſyttynge in thy bote that thou ſhalte goo to Rome, and be Byſhoppe there fiue and twentie yeares, after myne aſcenſion. And all thy ſucceſſours ſhal be rulers of ye vniuerſal church after ye.

Heare woulde I place alſo holye water, and hollye breade, and all vnwrytten verytes, if I were a Papiſte, and that Scripture is not to be expoundyd by anye priuate interpretacion, but by oure holye father, and hys colledge of Cardinalles.

Thys is a greate dele a better place then. *duc in altum.** But what was Chriſtes ſermon? it maye ſone be gathered what it was. He is alwayes like him ſelfe.

* Launch out into the deep.—Luke v, 4.

Hys fyrſte Sermon was. *pœnitentiam agite*, do pennaunce, your lyuynge is naught, repente. Agayne at Nazareth, whan he redde in the temple and preached remiſſion of ſynnes, and healynge of woundyd conſciences, and in the longe ſermon in the mount, he was alwayes lyke hymſelfe, he neuer diſſented from hymſelfe. O there is a writer hath a ioile text here, and hys name is, Dioniſious. I chaunced to mete wyth hys boke in my Lorde of Caunterberyes librarye: he was a Monke of the charterhouſſe. I maruayle to find ſuch a ſentence in that author. What taught Chriſt in thys ſermon? Mary ſayeth he, it is not written. And he addeth more vnto it. *Euangeliſtæ tantum ſcripſerunt de ſermonibus et miraculis chriſti quantum cognouerunt inſpirante deo ſufficere ad ædificacionem eccleſiæ ad confirmacionem fidei, et ad ſalutem animarum.* It is true it is not wrytten. Al hys miracles were not written, ſo neyther were al hys ſermons wrytten, yet for all that the euangeliſtes dyd wryte ſo muche as was neceſſary. They wrote ſo muche of the miracles and ſermons of Chriſt as they knewe by godes inſpiracion to be ſufficient for the edifiynge of the churche, the confirmacion of oure fayeth and the health of our ſoules. If thys be true as it is in dede, where be written verities? I meruayle not at the ſentence but to ſynde it in ſuche an authour. Ieſus what authoriti he gyues to goddes worde. But GOD woulde that ſuche men ſhoulde be wytneſſe wyth the authoritye of his boke, wil thei nill they.

Nowe to drawe towardes an ende. It foloweth in the text *duc in altum.* Here comes in the ſupremitye of the Byſhoppe of Rome. Whan oure Sauioure Chriſt had made an ende of hys ſermon and had fed their ſoules, he prouided for theyr boddies. Fyrſt he began wyth the ſoule. Chriſtes worde is the fode of it. Nowe he goth to the body, he hath charge of them boeth, he gyueth fode for them boeth: we muſt commit the ſedyng of the body and of the ſoule to hym.

Well, he ſayeth to Peter. *duc in altum.* Launche

in to the depth, put forth thy bote farther into the deepe of the water. Loſe youre nettes, nowe fyſhe. As who ſhoulde ſaye, youre ſoules are now fedde, I haue taught you my doctrine, nowe I wyll confirme it wyth a miracle. Lo ſyr here is *duc in altum*, Here Peter was made a greate man ſaye the Papiſtes, and all hys ſucceſſours after hym. And thys is deriued of theſe fewe words. Launch into the deepe. And their argumente is thys: he ſpake to Peter onelye, and he ſpake to hym in the ſingular number, ergo he gaue him ſuch a preeminence aboue the reſt. A goodly argument, I wene it be a ſillogiſmus. *in quem terra pontus*. I will make a lyke argument, Oure Sauioure Chriſte ſayed to Iudas, whan he was about to betraye hym *quod facis fac citius*.* Nowe whan he ſpake to Peter ther were none of his diſciples by, but Iames and Iohn, but whan he ſpake to Iudas they were al preſent. Wel, he ſayd vnto him, *quod facis fac citius*. Spede thy buſines, yat thou haſt in thy heade, do it. He gaue him here a ſecret monicion that he knewe what he intended, if Iudas had had grace to haue taken it and repented. He ſpake in the ſingular number to him, ergo he gaue hym ſome preeminence. By like he made him a Cardinall, and it mighte ful wel be, for they haue folowed Iudas euer ſyns. Here is as good a grounde for the Coledge of Cardinalles. as the other is for the ſupremitie of the Biſhop of Rome. Oure Sauiour Chriſt (ſay they) ſpake onely to Peter for preeminence, becauſe he was chiefe of the Apoſtles, and you can ſhewe none other cauſe Ergo thys is the cauſe why he ſpake to hym in the ſyngular number. I dare ſaye there is neuer a whirriman at Weſtminſter brydge, but he can anſwere to thys, and gyue a naturall reaſon for it.

He knoweth that one man is able to ſhoue the bote, but one man was not able to caſte out the nettes, and therefore he ſayed in the plural nomber. *iaxate retia*:† Louſe youre nettes? and he ſayed in the ſyngular

* That thou doest, do quickly.— † Let down your nets.—Luke v. 4. John xiii. 27.

number to Peter, launch out the bote. why? becauſe he was able to do it.

But he ſpake the other in the plural nomber, becauſe he was not able to conuaye the bote, and caſt out the nettes to. One man coulde not do it. Thys woulde the whirry man ſaye, and that wyth better reaſon, then to make ſuch a miſterie of it, as no man can ſpye but they. And the cauſe why he ſpake to all, was to ſhewe that he wyll haue all Chriſten men to worcke for theyr lyuynge. It is he that ſendes foode both for the body, and ſoule, but he wyll not ſend it, wythout laboure, He wyll haue all Chriſten people to laboure for it, he wyll vſe oure laboure as a meane whereby he ſendeth oure foode. Thys was a wounderous myracle of our Sauioure Chriſte, and dyd it not onely to allure them to hys diſcipleſhippe, but alſo for our commoditye. It was a ſeale, a ſeale to ſeale hys doctrine wythall. Nowe ye knowe that ſuche as be kepars of ſeales, as my Lorde Chauncelour and ſuche other, what ſo euer they be, they do not all wayes ſeale, they haue a ſealynge tyme. (For I haue harde poore men complaine, that thei haue bene put of from tyme to tyme of ſealynge to another, tyll all theyr money were ſpent). And as they haue tymes to ſeale in, ſo oure Sauioure Chriſt had hys tyme of ſealynge. When he was here in earth, wyth his Apoſtles, and in the tyme of the primitiue churche, Chriſtes doctrine was ſufficientelye ſealed already wyth ſeales of hys owne makynge, what ſhoulde oure ſeales do? What nede we to ſeale his ſeale? it is a confirmed doctrine alredi. O Luther, when he came into that worlde fyrſt, and diſputed agaynſt the decretales, the Clementines, Alexandrines, Eſtrauagantines, what a do had he. But ye wyll ſaye peraduenture he was deceyued in ſome thynges I wil not take vpon me to defend him in al pointes, I wil not ſtand to it, yat al that he *wrot was true, I thinke* he woulde not ſo hym *ſelfe. For there is no man*, but he maye erre. He *came to further and further* knowledge, (but ſuerly he *was a goodli inſtrument*). Wel I ſay, when he

preached fyrſte they called vpon him to do myracles, thei were wrought before. And ſo we nede to do no miracl[e]s. In dede when the popiſh prelates preached fyrſt, thei had nede of miracles, and the deuil wroughte ſome in the preachynge of purgatorye. But what kynde of miracles theſe were, all Englande doeth knowe, but it wil not knowe. A wounderfull thinge, that the people wyl contynewe in theyr blyndnes and ignoraunce ſtil. We haue greate vtilitie of the miracles of oure ſauiour Ieſus Chriſte. He doth ſignifye vnto vs, by this wonderful worcke, yat he is Lord as wel of ye water as of the land. A good comfort for thoſe yat be on ye water, when thei be in ani tempeſt, or daunger to call vpon him. The fiſhe here came at his commaundement. Here we maye learne that all thynges in the water are ſubiecte to Chriſte. Peter ſayed. Syr, wee haue laboured all nighte, and haue not caught one ſynne, howe be it at youre word we wyll to it a freſhe. By this it appereth that ye gaine, the lucre, the reuenewes that we get, muſt not be imputed to oure labour, we maye not ſay, gramercy labour: it is not oure labour, it is our ſauiour Chriſt that ſendeth vs liuynge, yet muſte we laboure, for he that ſayed to Peter labour, and he that bad the fyſhers laboure, biddes all menne to laboure in theyr buſines. There be ſome people that aſcribe their gaynes, theyr encreaſe, gotten by anye facultye, to the deuil. Is ther any trowe ye in England would ſay ſo? Nowe if any man ſhoulde come to an other, and ſay he gat hys lyuynge by the dyuell, he would fall out wyth hym. There is not a man in Englande that ſo ſayeth, yet is there ſome that thyncke it. For al yat get it with falſe biyng and ſellyng, wyth circumuention, wyth vſury, impoſtures, mixte wares, falſe waightes, deceyuynge theyr Lordes and maiſters, all thoſe, that get theyr goodes on thys faſhion, what do they thyncke, but that the deuil ſendes them gaynes and ryches. For they be hys (beyng vnlawefully gotten.) What is thys to ſay, but that the dyuell is authour of theyr gaynes when they be ſo gotten? For God

inhabites them. *deus non uolens iniquitatem tu es.** God wyl no iniquitie. Theſe folke are greatly deceiued. Ther be ſome againe impute al to their laboures and workes.

Yea, on the hollye day, they can not fynde in their hertes to come to the Temple, to the bleſſed communion, they muſt be working at home. Theſe are wid againe on the other ſide. And ſome there be yat thinke, if they worke nothinge at al, they ſhal haue inough, they wil haue no good exerciſe, but gape and thinke that god wil ſend meat into their mouthes, and theſe are as far wide: they muſte worke, he bad the fiſhers worcke. Our Sauiour Chriſt bad Peter worke, and he that ſayed ſo to them, ſayes the ſame to vs, euerye man in his arte. *benedictio dei facit diuitem.*†

The bleſſynge of God maketh a man ryche. He lettes hys ſonne ſhyne vpon the wycked, aſwell as vpon the good, he ſendes ryches boeth to good and bad.

But thys bleſſynge turnes to them into a malediction and a curſe, it encreſeth their damnacion. Saynćte Paulle wrytynge to the Theſſalonians, dyd put an order howe euerye man ſhoulde worcke in hys vocation. *Cum eſſemus apud uos, hoc præcipiebamus uobis, ut ſi quis nollet operari, is nec edat.*‡

When I was amonge you (ſayeth he) I made thys ordinaunce, that whoſoeuer wold not do the worcke of hys vocation, ſhoulde haue no meate. It were a good ordinaunce in a common weale, that euerye man ſholde be ſet on worke, euery man in hys vocation. Lette hym haue no mete. Nowe he ſayeth furthermore. *Audiuimus quoſdam inter uos uerſantes inordinate, nihil operis facientes.*§ I here ſaye, there is ſome amongeſt you, that lyues inordinatelye. What is that word inordinatelye? ydelye, gyuynge them ſelues to no occupacion for theyr lyuynge. *Curioſe agentes.*§ Curioſe men, gyuen to curioſitye, to ſearchynge what other men do. Saynćt Paule ſayeth, he harde ſaye, he

* *And canst not look on iniquity.* —Hab. i. 13.

† *The blessing of the Lord, it maketh rich.*—Prov. x. 22.

‡ *For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat.*—2 Thess. iii. 10.

§ *For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busy-bodies.*—2 Thess. iii. 11.

could not tell whether it were so or no. But he toke occasion of hearynge saye, to sette out a good and holsome doctrine. *his autem qui sunt eiusmodi præcipimus, et obsecramus.**

We commaund and desier you for the reuerence of God, if ther be any suche, that they wyll do the worckes of their vocacion, and go quietly to their occupation, and so eate theyr owne bread, ells it is not theyr owne, it is other mens meate. Oure Sauiour Christ before he began hys preachynge, lyued of hys occupacion, he was a carpenter, and gat hys liuynge wyth greate laboure.

Therefore let no manne disdayne, or thincke skorne to folowe hym in a meane liuynge, a meane vocation, or a common callynge and occupacion. For as he blessed oure nature wyth takynge vpon hym the shape of man, so in hys doyng he blessed al occupacions and artes. This is a notable example to signify yat he abhorres al idlenes. When he was a Carpentar, then he went, and dyd the worke of hys callynge, and when he was a preacher he dyd the workes of that calling. He was no vnpreachyng prelate. The Byshoppe of Rome shoulde haue learned that at him. And these gayners with false artes what be they? They are neuer contente wyth that they haue, thoughe it be neuer so muche. And they yat are true dealers, are satisfied with that god sendes, thoughe it be neuer so litle *quæstus magnus pietas, cum animo sua sorte contento.*† Godlines is great gayne.

It is lucre inoughe, it is vantage inoughe to be content with that, that God sendes. The fayethfull can not lacke, the vnfaythfull is euer lackynge, though he haue neuer so much I wil nowe make an ende. *labores manuum tuarum.*‡ Let vs al labour. Christe teacheth vs to labour, yea the Byshop of Rome hym selfe, he teacheth him to labour rather then to be

* Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread.—2 Thess. iii. 12.

† Godliness with contentment is great gain.—1 Tim. vi. 6.

‡ For thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands: happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.—Ps. cxxviii. 2.

hedde of the church. Let vs put our truſt in God. *Labores manuum tuarum.* Caſte thy care vpon the Lord and he wyll noriſhe the and fede the. Agayne the Prophet ſayeth. *Numquam uidi iuſtum derelictum nec ſemen eius quærens panem.**

I neuer ſawe the ryghtuouſe man forſaken, nor hys ſeede to ſeke his bread. It is infidelytye, infidelitye, that marres all together.

Well to my texte. *labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis, beatus es et bene tibi erit etc.* Becauſe thou eateſt the labors of thy handes, that, yat God ſendes the of thy laboure. Euery man muſt labour, yea though he be a Kynge yet he muſte labour, for I knowe no man hath a greater laboure then a Kynge. What is his labour? To ſtudye goddes boke, to ſee yat there be no vnpreachynge prelates in his realme, nor bribing Iudges, to ſe to all eſtates, to prouyde for the poore, to ſee vittailes good chepe. Is not this a labour trowe ye? thus if thou duſte laboure. exerciſynge the worckes of thy vocatyon, thou eateſt the meate that god ſendes the, and then it followeth. *Beatus es.* Thou art a bleſſed manne in Goddes ſauour. *Et bene tibi erit.* And it ſhall go well wyth the in this world, both in bodye and ſoule, for God prouides for both. Howe ſhalte thou prouyde for thy ſoule? go here Sermons. Howe for the boddy? labour in thy vocation, and then ſhall it be well wyth the, bothe here and in the worlde to come

through the fayth and merites
of our ſauiour Ieſus Chryſt,
To whom with the father
and the holy goſt, be
prayſe for euer and
euer, world with
oute ende.
Amen.

The ende of the. vi.
Sermon.

* *I have been young, and now am forsaken, nor his seed begging bread, and yet have I not seen the righteous* —Psa. xxxvii. 25.

The seuenth

Sermon of Maister Hughe

Latimer, whyche he preached before the Kinges Maiestye wythin hys Graces Palaice at Westminster the xix. daye of Aprill.

*Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** Al thynges yat be written, thei be written to be our doctrine. By occasion of thys texte (most honorable audience) I haue walked thys Lente in the brode filde of scripture and vsed my libertie, and intreated of such matters as I thought, mete for this auditory. I haue had a do wyth many estates, euen with the higheſt of all, I haue entreated of the dutye of Kynges, of the dutye of maiestrates, and Iudges, of the dutye of prelates, allowyng that yat is good, and disalowyng the contrary. I haue taught that we ar all synners, I thinke there is none of vs al, neither precher, nor hearer but we maye be amended, and redresse oure lyues. We maye all saye, yea all the packe of vs, *peccauimus cum patribus nostris.*† We haue offended and synned with our forefathers. *In multis offendimus omnes*‡ There is none of vs al, but we haue in sondry thinges greuously offended almyghtie God. I here intreated of many fautes and rebuked manye kyndes of synnes. I intende to daye by Goddes grace, to shew you the remedy of synne. We be in the place of repentaunce, nowe is the tyme to cal for mercy, whyles we be in

* *Rom.* xv. 4. † We have sinned with our fathers.—Psa. cvi. 6. ‡ In many things we offend all.—Jam. iii. 2.

this worlde. We be all ſynners, euen the beſt of vs all. Therefore it is good to here the remedy of ſynne. This day is commonlye called good Fryday, although eueri day ought to be with vs good fryday, Yet this day we ar accuſtomed ſpecially to haue a commemoration and remembraunce of the paſſion of our ſauiour Ieſu Chriſt. This daye we haue in memory hys bytter Paſſion and death, which is the remedy of our ſyn. Therefore I intende to intreat of a pece of the ſtory of hys paſſion. I am not able to intreate of all. That I may do that the better, and that it maye bee to the honour of God and edification of youre ſoules and myne both, I ſhal deſyre you to praye etc. In thys prayer, I wyll deſyre you to remember the ſoules departed, wyth laudes and prayſe to almyghtie God, that he woulde vouchſafe to aſſyſte them at the hour of their death. In ſo dooynge, you ſhalbe put in remembraunce to praye for your ſelues, that it may pleaſe G O D to aſſyſte and comforte you in the agonies and paines of death.

The place that I wyll intreat of is in the. xxvi. Chapiter, of ſaynte Matthewe, Howebeit, as I intreate of it I wyll borrowe parte of Saynte Marke and ſaynt Luke, for they haue ſomwhat, that ſaynt Mathew hath not, and eſpecially Luke.* The texte is. *Tunc cum ueniſſet Ieſus in uillam quæ dicitur gethſemani.*† Then when Ieſus came, ſome haue in *uillam* ſome *in agrum*, ſome *in prædium*. But it is all one, when Chriſt came into a Graunge, into a peace of land, into a fielde, it makes no matter, cal it what ye wyl, at what tyme he had come into an honeſt mans houſe, and ther eaten hys paſcquall lambe, and inſtituted and celebrate the lordes ſupper, and ſette furth the bleſſed communion, then when this was done, he toke his way to the place, where he knewe Iudas would come. It was a ſolitarye place and thither he wente with hys leauen Apoſtles. For Iudas the twelfte was a boute his buſines, he was occupied

* Matt. xxvi. 36—44; Mark xiv. 32—35; Luke xxii. 39—44: John xviii. 1.

† Then cometh Jeſus with them unto a place called Gethſemane.—Matt. xxvi. 36.

aboute his marchaundiſe, and was prouydyng among the byſhoppes and preiſtes, to come with an imbuſhment of Iewes to take our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt.

And when he was come into this felde, or grandge, this village, or ferme place, which was called Gethſemani, there was a Garden ſayth Luke, into the whych he goeth, and leues. viii. of hys diſciples without, howbeit he appoynted them what they ſhold do. He ſayth *Sedete hic, donec uadam illuc, et orem.** Sit you here whiles I go yonder and prai. He told them that he went to pray, to moniſh them what they ſhould do, to fall to praier as he dyd. He leſte them there, and toke no more with him but. iii. Peter, Iames, and Ihon to teach vs that a ſolitari place is mete for prayer. Then when he was come into this garden, *Cæpiet expaueſcere.*† He began to trimble, in ſo much he ſayed. *Triſtis eſt anima mea uſque ad mortem.*‡ My ſoule is heauye and pencyue, euen vnto death. Thys is a notable place, and one of the moſt eſpeciall and chefeſte of all that be in the ſtorye of the paſſion of Chriſte. Here is oure remedye. Here we muſt haue in conſideracion, all hys doynges and ſayeinges for oure learnynge, for oure edification, for oure comforth, and conſolacion.

Firſte of all he ſet hys thre Diſciples that he toke wyth hym in an order, and toulde theym what they ſhoulde do, ſayinge. *Sedete hic et uigilate mecum et orate.*‡

Sytte here, and praye that ye enter not into temptacion, but of that I wyll entreate afterwarde. Nowe when he was in the Garden, *cæpit expaueſcere.*† He beganne to be heauye, pencyue, heauye harted. I lyke not Oregens playeinge wyth this word *cæpit*, it was a perfect heauynes, it was ſuche a one as was neuer ſene th grater, it was not onely the begyning of a ſorow. Theſe doctours, we haue greate cauſe to thanke God for them, but yet I would not haue them alwayes to

* Sit here, while I go and pray yonder.—Matt. xxvi. 36.

† Began to be sorrowful and very heavy.—Matt. xxvi. 37.

‡ My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here, and watch with me.—Matt. xxvi. 38.

be allowed. They haue handled many poyntes of our fayth verye godly, and we may haue a greate ſtaie in them in mani thinges, we might not wel lake them, but yet I woulde not haue men to be ſworne to them, and ſo adicte as to take hand ouer hed whatſoeuer they ſay, it were a great inconuenience ſo to do. Wel, let vs go forward. He toke Peter, Iames and Ihon into thys garden. And why dyd he take them wyth hym, rather then other? mary thoſe that he had taken before, to whom he had reueled in the hyl, the tranſfiguracion and declaracion of his deitye, to ſe ye reuelacion of ye maieſtie of his godhead: now in the garden he reueled to the ſame ye infirmity of his manhood, becauſe they had taſted of the ſwete, he would thei ſhould taſt alſo of the ſower. He toke theſe wyth hym at boeth tymes, for two or thre is inoughe to beare witnes. And he began to be heuy in hys mynd. He was greatlye vexed wythin hym ſelfe, he was ſore afflicted, it was a gret heauines, he had bene heauye many times before, and he had ſuffered greate afflictions in hys ſoule, as for the blyndenes of the Iewes, and he was like to ſuffer mo panges of paine in hys body. But thys pange was greater then any he euer ſuffred yea, it was a greater torment vnto hym I thynke, a greater payne then when he was hanged on the croſſe, then when the ſtower nayles were knocked and driuen throughe hys handes and fete, then when the ſharpe crowne of thornes was thruſt on hys head. Thys was the heauines and penſiuenes of hys hearte, the agony of the ſpirit. And as the ſoule is more precious then the bodye: euen ſo is the paine of the ſoule more greuous then the paynes of the body. Therfore ther is another which writteth. *horror mortis grauior ipſa morte.* The horrour and vgſomnes of death is ſorer then death it ſelfe. This is the moſte greuous paine, that euer chriſt ſuffered, euen this pang, that he ſuffered in the garden. It is the moſt notable place one of them in the whole ſtorie of ye paſſion, when he ſayed. *Anima mea triſtis eſt uſque ad mortem.** My

* Ma. xxvi. 37, 38: see previous page.

ſoule is heauy to death. And *cum cæpiſſet expaueſcere* and when he began to quiuer, to ſhake. The greuouſnes of it is declared by hys prayer yat he made. *pater ſi poſſibile eſt etc.** Father if it be poſſible, a way with this cup, rid me of it. He vnderſtod by this cup his paines of death. For he knewe well inoughe that hys paſſion was at hand, that Iudas was come vpon hym with the Iewes to take him. There was offered vnto hym nowe the Image of death, the Image, the ſence, the felynge of hell, for death and hell go both together. I wyll entreate of thys Image of hell, whyche is death. Truelye no manne can ſhewe it perfectlye, yet I wyl do the beſt I can to make you vnderſtand ye greuouſe panges that oure Sauioure Chriſte was in when he was in the garden, as mans power is not able to beare it, ſo no mans tong is able to expreſſe it. Paynters painte death lyke a man without ſkin, and a body hauyng nothing but bones. And hel they paint it, horible flames of brenning fier, they bungell ſome what at it, thei come no thing nere it But thys is no true payntynge. No paynter can paynte hel vnleſſe he coulde paynte the torment and condemnation both of body and ſoule, ye poſſeſſion and hauyng of all in felicitie. Thys is hel, this is ye Image of death this is hell, ſuch an euyl fauoured face, ſuch an vgſome countenaunce, ſuch an horrible vyſage our ſauiour Chriſt ſawe of death and hell in the gardayn. There is no pleaſure in beholdynge of it, but more payne then anye tounge can tell. Death and hell toke vnto them thys euyll fauoured face of ſine, and thorough ſynne. This ſynne is ſo hyghly hated of God, that he doth pronounce it worthy to be puniſhed wyth lacke of all felicitie, with the fealyng of infelicitie. Death and hell be not only the wages, the reward, ye ſtipend of ſin, but they are brought into ye world by ſinne, *per peccatum mors*† ſayth S Paule, throughe ſynne deathe

* O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.—Matt. xxvi. 39.

† Death by sin.—Rom. v. 12.

entered into the world. Moſes ſheweth the firſt comming in of it into the world Where as our fyrſt father Adam was ſet at libertie to lyue for euer, yet God inhibytynge hym from eatyng of the Aple, tould hym, If thou meddle with this fruite, thou and all thy poſteritie ſhall fal into neceſſitie of death from euer lyuynge, *morte morieris*, thou and all thy poſteritie ſhalbe ſubiect to deathe, here came in death and hell. Synne was their mother. Therefore they muſt haue ſuche an Image as their mother ſinne would geue them. An vgſome thing and an horrible Image muſt it nedes be that is brought in by ſuch a thyng ſo hated of God, yea this face of death and hell is ſo terrible, that ſuche as hath bene wycked men had rather be hanged than a byde it. As Achitophell that traytoure to Dauid lyke an ambyciouſe wretche thought to haue come to higher promocion, and therefore conſpired with Abſolom againſt hys maieſter Dauid. He when he ſawe hys counſayle toke no place, goes and hanges hym ſelfe, in contemplacion of thys euyl fauored face of death. Iudas alſo when he came wyth buſhementes to take his maiſter Chriſte in beholdyng thys horrible face hanged himſelfe.

Yea the electe people of God, the faythful hauinge the beholdynge of thys face, (though God hath alwayes preſerued them, ſuche a good God he is to them that beleue in hym, that he wyll not ſuffer them to be tempted aboue that, that they haue bene able to beare) yet for all that, there is nothynge that they complaine more ſore then of thys horrour of death. Go to Iob. What ſayeth he? *Pereat dies in quo natus ſum, ſuſpendium elegit anima mea.** Wo worth ye day that I was borne in, my ſoule wolde be hanged, ſaying in his panges almooſte he wyſte not what. Thys was when wyth the eye of hys conſcience, and the inwarde man he behelde the horrour of death and hel, not for any bodylye payne that he ſuffered

Iob cursed ye day of hys death when he did inwardly behold ye horrour of death.

* *Let the day perish wherein I was born.*—Job iii. 3.

for when he hadde byles, botches, blaynes, and scabbes, he suffered them pacientlye, he coulde saye then: *Si bona suscepi de manu Domini. etc.**

If we haue receyued good thynges of God, why shoulde we not suffer likewyse euyll? It was not for any suche thynge, that he was so vexed, but the syght of thys face of death and hel, was offered to hym so lyuely that he wolde haue bene oute of thys worlde. It was thys euyl fauored face of death that so troubled hym. Kynge Dauid also sayed, in contemplacion of thys vgsome face. *Laboraui in gemitu meo.*† I haue bene sore vexed with sighyng and mourning. *Turbatus est a furore oculus meus.*‡

Why Iob was vexed.

Myne eye hath bene greatlye troubled in my rage. A straung thynge, when he had to syghte wyth Goliath that monstrous giante, who was able to haue eaten hym, he coulde a byde hym, and was nothynge a frayed and now what a worcke? what exclamacions makes he at the syghte of death? Ionas lykewyse was bold inoughe, to byd the shypmen cast hym into the sea, he had not yet sene that face and vysage, but when he was in the Whales belly, and had there the beholdynge of it, what terror and distresse abode he? Ezechias when he sawe Senacherib beseigynge hys citye on euery syde most violentlye, was nothynge a frayde of the greate hoste and myghtye army that was lyke to destroye hym oute of hande, yet he was a frayed of deathe. When the Prophet came vnto hym, and sayed. *Dispone domini tuæ, morte morieris, et non viues.*§

Dauid feared not Goliath the monstrous gyant but he feareth death.

Ionas feared not ye sea but he feared death.

Ezechias feared not the mighty Army of Senacheri but he feared death.

iiij. of the kynges the. xx.

It stroke him so to the harte that he fel a wepynge. O Lord what an horror was this? Ther be some writers that saies that Peter, Iames and Ihon, were in

* Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?—Job ii. 10.

† I am weary with my groaning.—Psa. vi. 6.

‡ Mine eye is consumed because of grief.—Psa. vi. 7.

§ Set thine house in order; for thou shalt die, and not live.—2 King. xx. 1.

thys felynge at the ſame tyme and that Peter when he ſayed: *Exi a me domine quia homo peccator ſum.**

Did taſt ſome part of it he was ſo aſtonyſhed, he wiſt not what to ſaye. It was not longe that they were in thys anguyſhe, ſome ſayes longer, ſome ſhorter but Chriſt was readye to comforte them, and ſayed to Peter.

Ne timeas,† Be not afraied. A frend of myne tolde me of a certayne woman, that was. xviii. yeares to gether in it. I knewe a man my ſelf Bilney, litle Bilnei, that bleſſed martyr of GOD, what tyme he had borne hys fagott, and was come agayne to Cambrydge hadde ſuche conflyctes, wythin hym ſelfe, beholdynge thys Image of death, that hys frendes were a frayed to lette hym be alone, they were fayne to be wyth hym daye and nyght, and comforted hym, as they coulde, but no comfortes woulde ſerue. As for the comfortable places of ſcripture to brynge theym vnto hym, it was as though a man woulde runne hym throughe the herte wyth a ſweard. Yet afterwarde for all thys he was reuiued, and toke his death pacientlye, and dyed wel againſte the Tirannical ſea of Rome. Wo, wil be to that byſhoppe that had the examynacyon of hym, if he repented not. Here is a good leſſon for you my fryendes. If euer ye come in daunger, in duraunce, in pryſon for godes quarrell, and hys ſake, (as he dyd for purgatorye matters, and put to beare a fagot for preachynge the true worde of God agaynſte pilgremage and ſuche lyke matters) I wyl aduyſe you fyrſt and aboue al thing to abiure al your fryendes, all your frindeſhipe, leaue not one vnabiured, it is they that ſhall vndo you, and not your ennemyes. It was his very friendes, that brought Bylnye to it. By this it maye ſomewhat appere what oure ſauyour Chriſte ſuffered, *he doeth not diſſemble* it hym ſelfe, when he

Lytle Bilney the blessed martir of god had wonderfull conflyctes in his mindes.

Bylney toke hys death pacientlye.

A god leasson for suche as are in pryson for ye wordes sake.

* Depart from me: for I am a sinner, O Lord.—Luke v. 8.

† Fear not.—Luke v. 10.

ſayth, my ſoule is heauye to death, he was in ſo ſore an Agony, that there iſſued out of hym as I ſhal entreate anone, droppes of bloud, an vgſome thing ſuerly, whiche his fact and dede ſheweth vs, what horrible paynes he was in for oure ſakes.

Chryst was in Agonye.

But you wyll saye, howe can thys be? It were poſſible that I and ſuche other, as be greate ſynners ſhoulde ſuffer ſuche affliction. The ſonne of God, what ours Sauioure Chriſte? neuer ſynned, howe can thys ſtande that he ſhoulde be thys handeled? he neuer deſerued it. Mary I wyl tell how we muſt conſider oure Sauiour Chriſte two wayes, one way in hys manhode, another in his Godhed. Some places of ſcripture muſt be referred to hys deitie, and ſome to his humanitie. In hys godhed he ſuffered nothynge, but nowe he made hym ſelfe voide of hys deity, as ſcripture ſayth. *Cum eſſet in forma dei exinaniuit ſeipſum.**

An answer to an obiectyon concernyng Chrystes affliction and tormentyng.

Christ suffred nothyng in hys godhed.

Where as he was in the forme of God, he emptyed hym ſelfe of it, he dyd hyde it, and vſed him ſelfe as though he had not had it, he woulde not helpe hym ſelfe wyth hys godhede, he humbled him ſelfe with al obedience vnto death, euen to the death of the croſſe thys was in yat he was man, he toke vpon hym our ſynnes, our ſynnes, not the worcke of ſynnes. I meane not ſo, not to do it, not to commyt it, but to purge it, to cleanſe it, to beare the ſtypende of it, and that waye he was the great ſynner of the worlde, he bare all the ſynne of the worlde on hys backe, he woulde become detter for it.

How Chryst toke vpon him our synnes.

Whych way Chryst was ye greate synner of the whole world.

Nowe to ſuſtayne and ſuffer the doloures of death, is not to ſynne, but he came into thys worlde, wyth hys paſſyon to purge our ſynnes. Nowe thys that he ſuffered in the Gardaine is on[e], of the bittreſt peces of al hys paſſyon, thys

Chrystes sufferyng in the garden was one of the byt-

* Who, being in the form of God he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.—Phil. ii. 8.

feare of death was the byttereſte payne that euer he abode, dewe to ſyn which he neuer did, but became detter for vs. Al this he ſuffer for vs, thys he dyd to ſatiſſefye for our ſynnes. It is much like as if I oughte another man. xx. M. [thouſand] poundes, and ſhulde paye it out of hande, or elles go to the dungen of ludgate, and when I am goynge to pryſon, one of my friendes ſhould come, and aſke, whether goeth thys man? And after he had harde the matter, ſhulde ſaye, let me aunſwere for hym, I wylbe come ſuertye for hym. Yea, I wyll paye all for hym. Suche a parte played our ſauiour Chriſte wyth vs. If he had not ſuffered thys, I for my part ſhoulde haue ſuffered, accordynge to the grauitie and qualititie of my ſynnes, damnacion. For the greater the ſynne is, the greater is the punyſhement in hell. He ſuffered for you and me in ſuche a degre, as is dewe to al ye ſinnes of the whole world. It was as if you woulde immagin that one man had commytted al the ſynnes ſince Adam, you maye be ſure he ſhoulde be puniſhed wyth the ſame horrour of death in ſuche a ſorte as al men in the worlde ſhoulde haue ſuffered. Feyne and put caſe our ſauyour Chriſte, had committed al the ſinnes of the world, al that I for my parte haue done, al that you for youre parte haue done, and that anye manne elles hath done, if he hade done all thys him ſelf, his agony that he ſuffered ſhoulde haue bene no greater nor greuouſer, then it was. This that he ſuffered in the garden was a portion I ſay of hys paſſion and one of the bittereſt partes of it. And this he ſuffered for oure ſynnes and not for anye ſynnes that he had commytted hym ſelfe, for al we ſhould haue ſuffered euery man accordynge to his owne deſertes.

terest peces of al his passion

He declares what Chryst dyd for vs by a similitude.

The greater the synne is, the greater is the payne.

His suffering in the garden was bytter and paynfull.

This he dydde of his goodnes, partelye to purge and cleanſe our ſynnes, partlye, becauſe *he would* taſt, and fele our myſe-

Why Christ suffred suche paynes in the garden.

ries, *Quo poſſet ſuccurrere nobis.** that he ſhould the rather helpe and relieue vs, and partly he ſuffered to geue vs example, to behaue our ſelues as he dyd. He dyd not ſuffer, to diſcharge vs clene from death, to kepe vs cleane, from it, not to taſt of it. Nay nay, you muſte not take it ſo. We ſhall haue the beholding of this vgſome face euery one of vs, we ſhal fele it our ſelues. Yet oure ſauiour Chriſt dyd ſuffer, to the entente, to ſygnifye to vs, that death is ouercomable. We ſhal in dede ouercome it, yf we repente, and acknowledge that our ſauiour Ieſu Chriſte pacifyed with his panges and paynes the wrath of the father, hauynge a loue to walke in the wayes of God, yf we beleue in Ieſus Chriſt, we ſhal ouercome death, I ſay, it ſhal not preuaile agaynſt vs. Wherfor whenſoeuer it chaunſeth the my frende, to haue the taſtynge of thys death, that thou ſhalte be temted wyth thys horror of deathe, what is to be done then? whenſoeuer thou feleſt thy ſoule heauy to death, make haſte, and reſorte to this gardaine, and with thys faith thou ſhalt ouercome thys terrour when it commeth. Oh it was a greuous thynge, that Chryſte ſuffered here. Oh the greatnes of his dolour that he ſuffered in the garden, partlye to make amendes for our ſinnes, and partly to delyuer vs from deathe, not ſo, that we ſhoulde not dye bodylye, but that thys death ſhould be away to a better lyfe, and to deſtroye and ouercome hell. Oure Sauyoure Chryſt had a gardayne, but he had littel pleaſure in it. You haue many goodly gardaynes, I wold you would in the myddes of theym conſyder what agonye our ſauyoure Chryſt ſuffred in hys gardayne. A goodly meditacion to haue in youre gardaines. It ſhal occaſyon you to delight no farther in *vanities, but* to remembre what he ſuffred for you. It

All men shall behold the vgsome face of death.

How we shal ouercome death.

What is to be done when the horrour of death comes.

Why Chryst suffred suche payn in the garden.

A meditation for vs in oure gardaynes.

* For *in that* he himself hath suf- succour them that are tempted.—
fered being tempted, he is able to Heb. ii. 18.

maye drawe you from ſynne? It is a good monumente, a good ſygne, a good monycyon to conſyder howe he behaued him ſelfe in this garden.

Well he ſayeth to hys Diſcyples. Sytte here and praye wyth me. He wente a lytle way of, as it were a ſtones caſt from them, and falles to hys prayer, and ſaieth: *Pater ſi poſſible eſt tranſeat a me calix iſte.**

Father if it be poſſyble. Awaye wyth thys bytter cuppe thys outragious payne. Yet after he correctes him ſelfe, and ſayes: *Veruntamen non ſicut ego volo ſed ſicut tu vis.*†

Not my wyll but thy wyll be done O Father. Here is a good medytacyon for Chryſten menne, at all tymes, and not onelye vpon good fryday, lette good fryday be euerye day to a Chriſtian manne to knowe, to vſe hys paſſyon to that ende and purpoſe, not to reade the ſtorye, but to take the fruyte of it.

Euery daye shouid be good fryday to a Chrysten man.

Some menne if they hadde bene in thys agonye, woulde haue runne them ſelues through with theyr ſweardes as Saule dyd, ſome woulde haue hangged theym ſelues, as Achitophell dyd.

i. Samu. xxxi.
ii. Samu. xvij.

Lette vs not folowe theſe menne. they be no examples for vs, but lette vs folowe Chriſte, whyche in hys agonye reſorted to hys father wyth hys praier. This muſt be our patrone to worke by. Here I might dilate the matter as touchynge prayinge to Sayncte, here we maye learne not to praye to Sayntes. Chriſte byddes vs. *Ora patrem qui eſt in cælis.*‡

We muste pray to God and not to saynctes.

Praye to thy father that is in heauen, to the creator, and not to any creature. And therfore awaye with theſe auowryes. Let god alone be oure auowry, what haue we to do to runne hither or thither, but onlye to the father of heauen. I wyl not tarye to ſpeake of thys matter.

* *O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.*- Matt. xxvi. 39.

† *Nevertheless not as I will, but* as thou *wilt.*—Matt. xxvi. 39.

‡ Pray ye; Our Father which art in heaven.—Matt. vi. 9.

Our Sauiour Chriſte ſet hys diſciples in an ordre and commaunded theym to watch, and praye, ſayinge: *Vigilate et orate.**

Why the disciples were commanded to pray.

Watch and praye. Wherto ſhoulde they watche and pray? he ſayeth by and by: *Ne intretis in tentationem.** That ye enter not into temptacion. He byddes them not, praye that they be not tempted, for that is as muche to ſay, as to prai that we ſhould be out of thys world. Ther is no man in thys worlde wythout temptacion. It the tyme of proſperyte we are tempted to wantonnes, pleaſures, and all lyghtnes, in tyme of aduerſyte to diſpayre in goddes goodnes. Temptacion neuer ceaſſes.

A dyfference betwene being tempted & entryng into temptacion.

Ther is a difference betwene beynge tempted and entrynge into temptacion. He byddes therfore not to praye that they be not tempted but that they enter not into temptacion. To be tempted is no euyll thynge.

For what is it? no more then when the fleſhe, the diuell and the worlde doeth ſolycyte and moue vs agaynſt God.

To entre into temptacion.

To geue place to theſe ſuggeſtions, and to yelde oure ſelues, and ſuffer vs to be ouer comme of theym, thys is to enter into temptacyon. Our ſauyoure Chriſte knewe that they ſhoulde be greuouſly tempted and therfore he gaue them warnynge, that they ſhoulde not geue place to temptacyon, nor dyſpayre at hys death. And yf they chaunched to forſake hym, or to runne awaye, in caſe they tripped or ſwarued, yet to come agayne.

The apostles were warned of theyr temptacion.

But oure Sauiour Chryſte dyd not onely commaunde hys dyſcyples to praye, but fell downe vpon hys knees flat vppon the grounde and prayed hym ſelfe, ſayinge: *Pater ſi fieri poteſt tranſeat a me calix iſte.*† Father, delyuer me of this *pange and* payne that I am in, thys outragious payne.

Chryst dyd praye in hys agonye.

* *Watch* and pray that ye enter not into temptation.—Matt. xxvi. 41. let this cup pass from me.—Matt. xxvi. 39.

† O my Father if it be possible.

This word, father, came euen from the bowels of hys harte, when he made hys mone, as who ſhoulde ſaye, father ryd me, I am in ſuche payne that I can be in no greater? Thou art my father, I am thy ſonne. Can the father forſake his ſonne in ſuche anguiſhe. Thus he made hys mone. Father take awaye this horrour of deathe from me, ryd me of thys payne, ſuffer me not to be taken whan Iudas comes, ſuffer me not to be hanged on the croſſe, ſuffer not my handes to be perced with nayles nor my harte wyth the ſharpe ſpeare. A wonderfull thynge, that he ſhoulde ſo oft tel his diſciples of it before, and nowe when he commeth to the poynte, to deſyre to be rydde of it, as thoughe he woulde haue bene diſobedient to the wyl of his father. Afore he ſayed, he came to ſuffer, and now he ſayes, a waye wyth thys cuppe. Who woulde haue thoughte that euer thys geare ſhould haue come oute of Chriſtes mouthe? What a caſe is this? What ſhuld a man ſay? You muſte vnderſtand, that Chriſte tooke vpon hym our infyrmities, of the whych thys was one to be ſorye at deathe. Amonge the ſtyppendes of ſynne this was on[e] to trimble at the croſſe, this is a punyſhement for oure ſynne.

Chryst toke vpon hym all our infirmyties, except syn.

It goeth otherwayes wyth vs, then wyth Chriſte, yf we were in lyke caſe, and in like agony, almoſt we woulde curſe God, or rather wyſhe that there were no God. Thys that he ſayed, was not of that ſorte, it was referrynge the matter to the wyll of hys father, but we ſeke by al meanes be it righte, be it wrong of oure owne nature to be ryd out of payne, he deſyred it condicionally, as it myghte ſtande, wyth hys fathers wyll, addyng a *Veruntamen** to it.

So his requeſt was to ſhewe the infyrmytye of man, here is now an example what we ſhal do, when we are in lyke caſe.

He neuer deſerued it, we haue. He *had a Veruntamen,** a not wythſtandynge,

An example for vs when weare tempted.

* Nevertheless.—Matt. xxvi. 39.

let vs haue so to, we muste haue a neuertheles, thy wyll be done and not myne.

Geue me grace to be contente to submitte my wyl vnto thyne. Hys facte teacheth vs what to do. Thys is oure surgerye, oure phyfyke, when we be in Agonye, And reken vpon it frendes, we shal come to it, we shal feele it, at one tyme or an other.

When we are in Agonye what phisyck we shuld vse.

What does he nowe? what came to passe nowe, when he had harde no voyce? hys father was domme.

He resortes to hys frendes, seking some comfort at theyr handes seynge he hade none at hys fathers hande, he comes to hys disciples, and fyndes them a slepe, he spake vnto Peter, and saied. Ah Peter arte thou a slepe, Peter before had bragged stoutly, as thoughe he woulde haue kylled, God haue mercye vpon hys soule. And nowe when he shoulde have comforted Christ, he was a slepe, not once buffe, nor baffe to him, not a word, he was fayne to faye to hys dyscyples: *Vigilate et orate*,* Watche and pray, the spirit is ready, but the flesshe is weake, he had neuer a worde of them agayne. They myght at the leste haue sayed. Oh Syr remember your selfe, are not you Christe came not you into thys world, to redeme synne, be a good cheare, be a good comforth, this sorrow wil not healpe you, comforte youre selfe by your owne preachynge, you haue sayed: *Oportet filium hominis pati*,† You haue not deserued any thing, it is not your faulte. In dede if they had done thys wyth hym, they had played a frendlye parte wyth hym, but they gaue hym not so muche as one comfortable worde. We ronne to our frendes in our dystresses and Agonyes, as though we had al oure truste and confydence in theym, he dyd not so, he resorted to theim, but trusted not in theym, we wyll ronne to our frendes and come no more to God, he returned agayn.

What shall we not resorte to oure frendes in tyme

* Watch and pray.—Matt. xxvi. 41. Thus it behoved Christ to suffer.
† *The Son* of man must suffer.— —Luke xxiv. 46.
Luke ix. 22.

of nede? and trowe ye we ſhal not fynde them a ſlepe? yes I warrante you, and when we nede theyr helpe moſt, we ſhal not haue it. But what ſhal we do, when we ſhall fynde lacke in theym? we wyll crye out vpon theym, vpbrayde them, chyde, braule, fume, chauſe and backbite them. But Chryſt dyd not ſo, he excuſed hys fryendes, ſayinge:

*Vigilate et orate ſpiritus quidem promptus eſt, caro autem infirma.** Oh (quouth he) watch and pray, I ſe wel the ſpirite is ready, but the fleſhe is weake. What meaneth this? ſuerelye it is a comfortable place. For as longe as we lyue in thys worlde, when we be at the beſt, we haue no more but. *Promptitudinem ſpiritus cum infirmitate carnis*, The redyneſſe of the ſpirite with the infirmite of the fleſh. The verye Sayncte of God ſayed: *Velle adeſt miki*,† My wyl is good, but I am not able to performe it, I haue bene with ſome, and ſayne they woulde, ſayne they woulde, there was redines of ſpirite, but it woulde not be. It greued them that they coulde not take thynges, as they ſhould do. Roma. vij.

The fleſhe reſyſteth the worcke of the holy Goſt in oure herte, and lettes it, lettes it. We haue to praye euer to God O prayer, praier, that it myght be vſed in thys Realme as it oughte to be of all menne, and ſpecyallye of Magyſtrates, of Counſaylers, of greate Rulers, to praye, to praye, that it woulde pleaſe God to putte Godly policies in their hertes. Call for aſyſtaunce. I haue heard ſay, when that good quene that is gon had ordeined in her houſe, dayly prayer both before none, and after none, the admyral gettes hym oute of the waye, lyke a moule diggynge in the earth. He ſhalbe Lottes wyfe to me as long as I lyue. He was a couetous manne, an horrible couetous manne, I wolde there were no mo in England. He was an ambicious man. *How ye fleshe resisteth.* *M. L. wisheth prayer to be vsed.* *The admiral was a contemner of common prayer*

* Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: *the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.*—*Matt. xxvi 41.*

† To will is present with *me*, but *how* to perform that which is good I find not.—Rom. vii. 18.

I woulde there were no mo in Englande. He was a ſedicious man, a contemnar of commune prayer, I would there were no mo in England, he is gone, I wold he had left none behind him: Remember you my lordes, that you pray in your houſes to the better mortification of your fleſhe. Remember god muſt be honored, I wyl you to praye that God wyl continew his ſpirit in you. I do not put you in comfort, that yf ye haue once the ſpirit, ye cannot loſe it, Ther be new ſpirits ſtart vp now of late, that ſaye, after we haue receyued the ſpiryt, we cannot ſynne. I wyll make but one argument. Saynt Paule had broughte the Galathyans to the poſſeſſyon of the fayth, and left theym in that ſtate, they had receiued the ſpirit once, but they ſynned agayne, as he teſtifyed of theym him ſelfe. He ſayeth: *Currebatis bene.** Ye were once in a ryght ſtate, and agayne. *Recepiſtis ſpirituum ex operibus legis, an ex iuſticia fidei?*† Once they had the ſpirit by faith, but falſe Prophetes came (when he was gone from them), and they plucked them cleane away from al that Paul had planted them in, and then ſaied Paul vnto them: *O ſtulti Galathi quis vos facinauit?*‡ yf this be true, we may loſe ye ſp[i]ryte, yat we haue once poſſeſſed. It is a fond thyng, I wyll not tarry in it. But now to the paſſyon again. Chriſt had ben with hys father, and felt no healpe, he had bene with hys frendes, and had no comfort, he had prayed twyſe, and was not herd, what dyd he now? dyd he geue prayer ouer? no, he goeth agayne to hys father, and ſayeth the ſame agayne, father if it be poſſyble awaye with this cup, here is an example for vs although we be not herd at the firſt time, ſhal we geue ouer our praier? nay we muſt to it agayne, we muſt be importune vpon god, we muſt be inſtant in prayer. He prayed thryſe and was not herd, let vs ſinners praye

He wylleth them to pray.

New spirites lately start vp.

Chryst contynued in praier.

* Ye did run well. Gal. v. 7.

† *Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?*—Gal. iii. 2.

‡ O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?—Gal. iii. 1.

thre ſcore tymes, folkes are very dul now adaies in praier, to come to ſermons, to reſorte to common praier. You houſkepers, and eſpecially great men geue example of prayer in your houſes. Well dyd hys father looke vpon him thys ſecond tyme? no, he went to hys frendes agayne thynkyng to finde ſome comfort ther, but he findes them a ſlepe, again more deper a ſlepe then euer they were. Their eyes were heauy with ſlepe Ther was no comfort at all, they wyſt not what to ſay to hym. A wonderfull thing, how he was toſt from poſt to piller, one whyle to hys father, and was deſtytute at hys hand, anothe whyle, to hys frendes, and founde no comfort at them, hys father gaue him loking on, and ſuffred him to bite vpon the brydle a whyle. Almyghtye God behelde thys battayle that he myghte enioye that honoure and glory, that in hys name al knees ſhuld bow, *Cæleſtium, Terreſtrium, et infernorum.** in heauen, earth and hel. Thys that the father wolde not here hys owne ſonne, was an other punyſhemente due to our ſynne. When we crye vnto hym, he wyll not here vs. The Prophet Ieremy ſayeth. *Clamabunt ad me, et ego non exaudium eos.*† Theſe be. Ieremyes wordes, here he threateneth to punyſhe ſyn wyth not hearyng theyr prayers. The prophet ſaythe. They haue not had the feare of God before theyr eyes, nor haue not regarded diſciplyne and correction. I neuer ſawe ſurely ſo lyttel diſcipline as is nowe a daies. Men wilbe mayſters, they wyl be mayſters, and no Diſciples. Alas where is thys diſciplyne nowe in England. The people regarde no diſcipline, they be without al order. Wher thei ſhuld geue place, they wyll not ſtur one inch, yea, wher magiſtrates ſhold determyne matters, they wyl breake into the place, before they come, and at theyr commynge not moue a whitte for them. Is this diſcipline? Is thys good order? Yf a man ſay any thyng vnto them, they

House kepers and great men must geue example of prayer.

God punyſheth syn in not hearynge of our prayers.

* *Of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth.* —*Phil. ii.* 10.

† I will not hear them in the time that they cry unto me for their trouble.—*Jer. xi.* 14.

regarde it not. They that be called to aunſwere wyll not aunſwere directlye, but ſkoffe the matter out. Men the more thei knowe, the worſſe they be, it is truely ſayed.

Sciencia inflat,* knoweledge maketh vs proude and cauſeth vs to forget all, and ſet a waye diſcipline. Suerlye, in Poperye they had a reuerence, but now we haue none at all, I neuer ſawe the lyke. Thys ſame lacke of the feare of God, and diſcipline in vs, was one of the cauſes that the father woulde not heare hys ſonne. Thys payne ſuffered our ſauioure Chriſt for vs, who neuer deſerued it. Oh what it was, that he ſuffered in thys gardeyn, til Iudas came. The doloures, the terroures, the ſorrowes that he ſuffered, be vnſpeakeble, He ſuffered it, partelye, to make amendes for oure ſynnes, and partelye, to geue vs example, what wee ſhoulde do in lyke caſe.

What comes of thys gere in the ende? Wel, nowe he prayeth agayne, he reſorteth to his father agayne. *Angore correptus, prolixius orabat.*† He was in ſorer paines, in more anguiſhe, then euer he was, and therefore he prayeth longer, more ardentlye, more faruentelye, more vehementelie, then euer he did before.

Oh Lorde, what a wonderfull thynge is thys, thys horroure of death is worſſe then death it ſelfe, more vgſome, more bytter then anye bodylye death. He prayeth nowe the thyrde tyme. He dyd it ſo inſtauntlye, ſo feruently, that it brought out a bloudy ſweate, and ſuche plentye that it dropped downe euen to the grounde. Ther iſſued out of hys precious bodye droppes of bloude. What a paine was he in, when theſe bloudy droppes fell ſo abundantlye from hym. Yet for all that, how vnthankefull do we ſhewe oureſelues toward hym that dyed only for oure ſakes, and for the remedy of oure ſynnes. Oh what blaſphemye do we commit daye by daye, what litle regard haue we to his bleſſed paſſion thus to ſweare by goddes

* *Knowledge puffeth up.*—1 Cor. viii. 1.

† And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly.—Luke xxii. 44.

bloude, by Chriſtes paſſion. We haue nothynge in no paſtime, but gods bloude, gods woundes. We continually blaſpheme his paſſion in haukyng, hunting, diſing, and cardinge. Who would thynke he ſhoulde haue ſuche enemyes a monge thoſe that profeſſe hys name.

What became of hys blud that fell downe trowe ye? was the bloude of Hales of it (wo worthe it). What a do was it to brynge thys out of the kynges heade, thys greate abhominacion of the blould of hales could not be taken a great whyle out of his mynde. You that be of the court, and eſpecially ye ſworne chapleynes be ware of a leſſon that a greate man taught me at my fyrſt comming to the courte he tolde me for good wyll, he thoughte it well. He ſaye vnto me. You muſt beware howe ſoeuer ye do that ye contrari not the Kynge, let hym haue hys ſayinges, follow hym, go wyth hym. Mary out vpon thys counſayle, ſhall I ſaye, as he ſayes. Saye youre conſcience, or eles what a worme ſhal ye fele gnawynge, what a remorſe of conſcience ſhall ye haue, when ye remembre howe ye haue ſlacked your dutye. It is a good wyſe verſe. *Gutta cauat lapidem, non ui ſed ſepe cadendo.* The droppe of raine maketh a hole in the ſtone, not by violence, but by ofte fallynge. Lykwyſe a Prynce muſte be turned not violentlye, but he muſt be wonne by a lytle and a lytle. He muſte haue hys dutye tolde hym, but it muſte be done wyth humblenes, wyth requeſt of pardon, or els it were a daungerous thynge.

Vnpreacheynge Prelates haue bene the cauſe, that the bloud of Hales did ſo long blynd the Kynge. Wo worthe that ſuche an abhomynable thyng ſhuld be in a Chriſten realme, but thankes be to God it was partly redreſſed in the Kynges dayes that dead is, and much more nowe. God graunte good wil, and power to go forwarde, yf ther be any ſuche abhomynacion behinde, that it may vtterly be rooted vp.

O how happy are we, that it hath pleaſed almyghty God to vouche ſafe, that his ſonne ſhuld ſweate bloud

for the redeming of oure ſynnes, and agayne howe vnhappye are we yf we wyll not take it thanckefullye, but that was redemed ſo paynfullye. Alas what harde heartes haue we. Oure Sauiour Chriſt neuer ſynned, and yet ſweat he bloud for our ſynnes, we wyll not once watter oure eyes wyth a fewe teares. What an horrible thing is ſinne? that no other thynge wold remedy and paye the ranſom for it, but only the bloud of our Sauioure Chriſte. There was nothinge to pacify the fathers wrath agaynſt man, but ſuche an Agonye as he ſuffered. All the paſſyon of all the martyrs that euer were, al the ſacryfyces of Patryarkes that euer were, al the good workes that euer were done, were not able to remedy oure ſynne, to make ſatiſfaction for oure ſynnes, nor anye thynge beſydes; but thys extreme paſſion and blud ſheddynge of our moſt merciful Sauioure Chriſt.

But to drawe towarde an ende, what became of thys thre fold prayer at ye lenghth, it pleaſed God to here his ſonnes prayer, and ſent hym an angell to corroborate, to ſtrengthen, to comforth hym.

Chriſt nede no angels helpe, if he had lyſted to eaſe him ſelfe wyth hys deitye. He was the ſonne of God, what then? for ſo much as he was man he receyued comforthe at the Aungels hande, as it accordes to our infirmitie. Hys obedience, his contynuance, and ſufferynge, ſo pleaſed the father of heauen, that for his ſonnes ſake, be he neuer ſo greate a ſynner, leauynge hys ſynne, and repenteynge for the ſame, he wyll owe hym ſuche fauoure, as though he had neuer commyted anye ſynne.

The father of heauen wyll not ſuffer him to be tempted with thys greate horrour of deathe and hel to the vttermoſte, and aboue that he is able to beare. Looke for it my frendes, by him and through him ye ſhalbe able to ouercome it, let vs do as our Sauioure Chriſte dyd, and we ſhal haue helpe from aboue, we ſhal haue aungels helpe, yf we truſt in hym, *heauen and* earth ſhall geue vp, rather then we ſhal

lacke helpe, He ſaith he is. *Adiutor in neceſſitatibus.** an helper in tyme of nede. When the aungell had comforted hym, and when thys horroure of deathe was gone, he was ſo ſtrong, that he offered himſelfe to Iudas, and ſayed. I am he. To make an ende, I praye you take paines: it is a daye of penaunce (as we vſe to ſai) geue me leue to make you wery thys daye. The Iewes had hym to Cayphas and Annas, and there they whypt hym, and bet hym, they ſette a crowne of ſharpe thorne vpon hys head, and nayled hym to a tree, yet al thys was not ſo bytter, as thys horroure of death, and thys Agony, that he ſuffered in the gardayne, in ſuche a degree as is dewe to al the ſynnes of the worlde, and not to one mannes ſynne.

Well, thys paſſion is our remedye, it is the ſatiſfactyon for oure ſynnes. Hys ſoule deſcended to hell for a tyme. Here is muche a do, theſe newe vyſitatynge ſpirites, ſay Chriſt neuer deſcended into hel, neyther body nor ſoule. In ſcorne they wil aſke, was he ther, what did he there? what if we cannot tell what he dyd there? The Crede goeth no further, but ſayeth, he deſcended thyther, what is that to vs if we cannot tell ſeynge we were taughte no further. Paulle was taken vp into the third heauen, aſke lykewyſe what he ſawe when he was caried thyther, you ſhall not fynde in ſcripture what he ſawe or what he dyd there, ſhal we not therfore beleue that he was there.

Theſe arrogant ſpirites, ſpirites of vayne glorye: becauſe they knowe not by any expreſſe ſcripture, the order of his doynges in hell, they wil not beleue that euer he deſcended into hell. In dede thys article hathe not ſo full ſcripture, ſo many places and teſtimonyes of ſcriptures as other haue, yet it hathe ynough, it hath. ii. or. iii. textes, and if it had but one, one texte of ſcripture, is of as good and lawfull authorytye as a. M. [thouſand] and of as certayne truth. It is not to be wayed by the multitude of textes. I beleue as certaynely and verely that thys Realme of Englande hath *as good authoritye* to here Goddes worde as any

* Grace to help in time of need.—Heb. iv. 16.

nation in al the worlde, it maye be gathered by. ii. textes, one of theym is thys.

*Ite in uniuerſum mundum, et predicate euangelium omni creaturæ.**

Go into the whole world, and preache the Goſpell to all creatures. And agayne. *deus uult omnes homines ſaluos fieri.*† God wyll haue al men to be ſaued, he exceptes not the Engliſhemen here, nor yet expreſſelye nameth theym, and yet I am as ſure, that thys Realme of Englande, by this gatherynge, is allowed to here Goddes word, as though Chriſte hadde ſayed a thouſande tymes, Go preache to Engliſhmen, I wyl that Engliſhemen be ſaued. Becauſe thys article of hys deſcendyng into hell, cannot be gathered ſo directlye, no neceſſarylye, ſo formallye they do vtterlye denye it. Thys article hath Scriptures two or three. Inoughe for quiet myndes, as for curiouſe braynes nothynge can contente them.

This is the dyuels ſterryng vp of ſuche ſpirites of ſedicion, is an euidente argumente, that the light is come forth, for his word is a brode, when the dyuel ruſſheth, when he roreth, when he ſtyrreth vp ſuche buſie ſpirites, to ſclaunder it. My entent is not to entreate of thys matter at thys tyme. I truſt the people wyll not be caryed awaye wyth theſe newe arrogant ſpirites. I dout not, but good preachers wyl labour agaynſt them. But now I wyl ſaye a worde, and herein I proteſt fyrſte of al, not arrogantly to determyne, and defyne it, I wyll contende wyth no man for it, I wyll not haue it be preiudice to any body, but I offer it vnto you to conſydre and waye it.

There be ſome greate clarkes that take my parte, and I perceyue not what euill can come of it, in ſaying, yat our Sauiour Chriſte dyd not onely, in ſoule deſcende into hell, but alſo that he ſuffered in hel ſuche paynes as the damned ſpirites dyd ſuffer there. Suerli, I beleue verelie for my parte, that he ſuffered the paynes of hell proporcionably, as it correſpondes

* *Go ye into* all the world, and *preach the gospel* to every creature. —*Mark xvi. 15.*

† God our Saviour; who will have all men to be saved.—1 Tim. ii. 3, 4.

and aunſweres to the whole ſynne of the worlde. He would not ſuffer onelye bodelye in the gardayne and vpon the croſſe, but alſo in hys ſoule, when it was from the bodye, whyche was a payne dewe for oure ſynne.

Some wrytte ſo, and I can beleue it that he ſuffered in the very place, I can not tell what it is, call it what ye wil, euen in the ſkaldinge houſe, in the vgſomnes of the place, in the preſence of the place, ſuche payne as our capacitie cannot attayne vnto, it is ſome what declared vnto vs, when we vtter it by theſe effectes, by fyre, by gnaſhynge of teth, by the worme that gnaweth on the conſcience What ſo euer the payne is, it is a greate payne that he ſuffered for vs. I ſe no inconuenience to ſaye, that Chriſte ſuffered in ſoule in hell.

I ſingularly commende the exceadynge greate charitie of Chriſt that for our ſakes wold ſuffer in hell in his ſoule. It ſerches oute the vnſpeakable hatred that God hathe to ſynne. I perceyue not that it doth derogate any thing from ye dignitye of Chriſtes death, as in ye gardayne, when he ſuffered, it derogates nothing from yat he ſuffred on the croſſe. Scripture ſpeaketh on this faſſion. *qui credit in me, habet uitam æternam.** He that beleueth in me, hath lyfe euerlaſtynge. Here he ſettes furth fayth, as the cauſe of our iuſtificacion, in other places as high commendacion is geuen to workes, and yet are the worckes anye derogacion from that dignitye, fayth? No. And agayne ſcripture ſayeth. *Traditus eſt propter peccata noſtra et exuſcitatus propter iuſtificationem etc.*†

It attributeth here oure iuſtification, to his reſurrection, and doeth thys derogate anye thynge from hys death? not a whit. It is whole Chriſt. What wyth his natiuitye, what with his circumciſion, what wyth hys incarnacion, and the whole proceſſe of hys lyfe, wyth hys preachyng, what wyth hys aſcendynge, deſcend-

* *He that believeth on me hath everlasting life.*—John vi. 47.

† *Who was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification.*—Rom iv. 25.

ynge, what wyth his death, it is all Chriſte that worketh oure ſaluacion.

He ſitteth on the ryght hande of the father, and all for vs. All this is the worke of oure ſaluation. I woulde be as loeth, to derogate any thing from Chriſtes death as the beſt of you al. How vneſtimably are we bound to hym? what thankes oughte we to geue hym for it? We muſte haue thys continuallye in remembraunce. *propter te morti morti tradimur tota die.** For the, we are in diynge continuallye.

The life of a Chriſten man is nothynge but a readines to dye, and a remembraunce of death, If thys that I haue ſpoken of Chriſtes ſufferynge in the gardayne, and in hell, derogate any thinge from Chriſtes death and paſſion, awaye wyth it, beleue me not in this, if it do not, it commendes and ſettes furth very wel vnto vs, the perfection of the ſatiffacion that Chriſt made for vs, and the woorke of a redemption, not onely before wytnes in thys worlde, but in hel in that vgſome place, wherto whether he ſuffered, or wraſtled with the ſpirites, or comforted Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob. I wyl not deſier to knowe, if ye lyke not that which I haue ſpoken of hys ſufferynge, let it go. I wyl not ſtriue in it. I wil be preiudice to nobody, weye it as ye liſt. I do but offer it you to conſider. It is like his ſoule did ſomwhat, the thre dayes that hys body lay in the graue. To ſaye he ſuffered in hell for vs derogats nothing from his death, for al thinges that Chriſt did before his ſuffering on the croſſe, and after do worke oure ſaluacion, if he had not bene incarnat, he had not dyed, he was beneficial to vs with al thinges he did. Chriſten people ſhould haue his ſufferinge for them in remembraunce, let your gardains moniſhe you, your pleaſaunt gardaynes what Chriſt ſuffred for you in the Gardayne, and what commoditie you haue by hys ſufferynge.

It is hys wyl ye ſhoulde ſo do, he woulde be hadde *in remembraunce*. Myxt youre pleaſurs with the *remembraunce* of his bitter paſſion. The whole paſſion

* For thy sake are we killed all the day long.—Psa. xliv. 22.

is ſatiſfaction for oure ſynnes, and not the bare death, conſideryng it ſo nakedly by it ſelfe The maner of ſpekyng of ſcripture is to be conſidered. It attributeth oure ſaluacion, nowe to one thynge, nowe to a nother that Chriſte dyd, where indede it pertayned to all. Oure Sauioure Chriſte hath lefte behynd hym, a remembraunce of hys paſſion, the bleſſed communion, the celebration of the Lordes ſupper, a lacke it hath bene longe abuſed, as the ſacrifices were before, in the oulde law. The Patriarkes vſed ſacrifice, in the fayeth of the ſeade of the woman, whyche ſhoulde breake the ſerpentes hed. The Patriarkes ſacrifiſed on hope, and afterwarde the worcke was eſtemed.

There comes other after, and they conſider not the fayth of Abraham, and the Patriarkes, but do theyr ſacrifice accordynge to theyr owne imaginacion, euen ſo came it to paſſe wyth oure bleſſed communion.

In the primatyue churche, in plages, when theyr fryendes were deade, they vſed to come together to the holy communion. What? to remedye them that were deade? No, not a ſtrawe. It was not inſtituted for no ſuche purpoſe.

But then they would call to remembraunce goddes goodnes, and his paſſion that he ſuffered for vs, wherein they comforted much theyr fayth. Other came after warde and ſettes vp all theſe kyndes of maſſynge, all theſe kyndes of iniquite. What an abhominacion is it? the fouleſt that euer was to attribute to mans worke oure ſaluacion. God be thanked that we haue thys bleſſed communion ſet forth ſo nowe, that we maye comfort, encreaſe, and fortify our fayth at that bleſſed celebration. Yf he be gyltye of the bodye of Chriſt, that takes it vnworthely, he fetcheth greate comforte at it, that eate it worthely, He doothe eate it worthelye, that doeth it in fayeth. In fayeth? in what fayeth? Not long ago a great man, ſayed in an audience, they bable much of faith, I wyll go lye wyth my whore al nyghte, and *haue as good* a fayth, as the beſt of them al. I *thynke he neuer knewe* other, but the whore mongers

fayth. It is no ſuche fayth that wyll ſerue. It is no brybynge Iudges, or iuſtices faith, no rentreaſers fayeth, no hore mongers fayth, no leaſe mongers fayth, no ſeller of benefices faith, but the fayth in the paſſion of oure Sauioure Chriſt, we muſt beleue that our Sauioure Chriſt hath taken vs agayne to hys fa[u]oure, that he hath deliuered vs hys owne bodye and bloude to plead with the dyuel, and by merite of hys owne paſſion, of his owne mere liberalitie. This is the fayth I tel you, that we muſt come to the communion with, and not the horemongers faith? Loke where remiſſion of ſin is, ther is acknowledging of ſin alſo. Fayth is a noble duches, ſhe hath euer her gentleman vſher going before her, the confeſſing of ſinnes, ſhe hath a trayne after her, the frutes of good workes, the walking in the commaundementes of god. He yat beleueth, wyll no[t] beidle, he wyl walke, he wil do his buſines, haue euer the gentelman vſher with you. So if ye wil trye fayth, remember this rule, conſider whether the trayne be waytinge vpon her. Yf you haue another fayth then thys, a whoremonkers fayth, you are lyke to go [to] ye Scalding houſe, and ther you ſhal haue two diſhes, wepynge and gnaſhinge of teeth, muche good do it you, you ſe your fare. If ye wil beleue and acknoweledge your ſynnes, you ſhall come to ye bleſſed communion of the bitter paſſion of Chriſt, worthily, and ſo attayne to euerlaſtynge lyfe, to the whiche the father of heauen bringe you and me

A. M. E. N.

F. K. N. K. S.

J. & W. Rider, Printers, London.

English Reprints.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Utopia.

Originally printed in Latin, 1516.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY
RALPH ROBINSON,
Sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

HIS SECOND AND REVISED EDITION, 1556: PRECEDED BY THE TITLE AND EPISTLE OF HIS FIRST EDITION, 1551.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY
EDWARD ARBER,
Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

LONDON:
ALEX. MURRAY & SON, 30, QUEEN SQUARE, W.C.
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UTOPIA, Firſt Engliſh Tranſlation, 1551 .

(1) THE EPISTLE to Maſter W. Cecil, Esq. . .

UTOPIA, Second Engliſh Tranſlation, 1556 .

(1) The Tranſlator [Ralph Robinson] to the gentle reader . . . . . .

(2) The Epiſtle 'Thomas More to Peter Giles [Ægidius] ſendeth greeting' . . . . . .

(3) THE FIRST BOOK OF THE COMMUNICATION OF RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY, CONCERNING THE BEST STATE OF A COMMONWEALTH . . . . . .

(4) THE SECOND BOOK OF THE COMMUNICATION OF RAPHAEL HYTHLODAYE, CONCERNING THE BEST STATE OF A COMMONWEALTH: CONTAINING THE DESCRIPTION OF UTOPIA, WITH A LARGE DECLARATION OF THE POLITICK GOVERNMENT, AND OF ALL THE GOOD LAWS AND ORDER OF THE SAME ISLAND . . .

Of the cities and namely of Amaurote . . .

Of the Magiſtrates . . . . . .

Of Sciences, Crafts, and Occupations . . .

Of their living and mutual converſation together .

Of their journeying or travalling abroad, with divers other matters cunningly reaſoned, and wittily diſcuſſed .

Of Bondmen, Sick Perſons, Wedlock, and divers other matters . . . . . .

Of Warfare . . . . . .

Of the Religions in Utopia . . . . .

(5) Letter from P. Giles [Ægidius] to J. Buſlyde [Busleyden], dated Antwerp, 1 November 1516 . . .

(6) Utopian Poetry . . . . . .

(7) Poems by Bronchroſt and Schryver . . .

(8) The Printer [Abraham Veale] to the Reader .

TOPIA—probably written the second book at Antwerp about November 1515; and the first in London in the early part of 1516—was first published abroad. It was printed by Theodore Martin at Louvain, under the hip of Erasmus, Ægidius, Paludanus and other of friends in Flanders, towards the end of 1516. e then revised it, and, through Erasmus, it was John Frobenius at Basle to print. This more ious and, as regards authorship, second edition—bly containing the standard text—bears the date ember 1518. In the meantime however, a friend mus, the Englishman Thomas Lupset, brought out int of the first edition at Paris, which was printed les de Gourmont before March 1518; and which efore in point of time, the second edition; the one, being the third; and one at Vienna in 1519, urth in order of appearance. All four were in , then the common familiar language of the d.

a strange fate, not a single copy of this work, in any age whatsoever, was printed in England in More's e; or indeed prior to these English versions of Robinson. Yet—despite its original Latin garb work is essentially English, and will ever reckon g the treasures of our literature.

thout some acquaintance with Sir Thomas More's ne might be apt to assume *Utopia* to be entirely n work, and the persons named in it to be fic-

generous *diplomate*. Founder of the College *of the three languages* [Latin Greek, Hebrew], at Louvain. He wrote a letter to More, *not translated by Robinson*.

GERARD BRONCHROST, of Nimeguen in Latin NOVIOMAGUS [b. 1494—d. 1570]. Sometime Mathematical Professor at Rostock, wrote a short poem, *see p.* 167.

CORNELIUS SCHRYVER, latinized GRAPHÆUS [b. 1482—d. 19 Dec. 1558] made in 1533 secretary to the municipality of Antwerp, also contributed a short poem, *see p.* 167.

WILLIAM BUDE, latinized BUDEUS or BUDÆUS [b. 1467—d. 23 Aug. 1540] the most learned Frenchman of his time. His letter to Lupset first appeared in the Paris edition of 1518, *not included by Robinson*.

THOMAS LUPSET [b. 1498—d. 27 Dec. 1532] while studying at Paris edits second edition of *Utopia*. Afterwards becomes Lecturer in Rhetoric at Oxford.

Utopia is worthy of multiformed ſtudy. Not only from its reflection of the character, principles, and merry wit of its author; from its propoſed ſolutions of ſuch ſocial problems, as the ſcarcity or overplus of population, the prevention of famines, and the like: but alſo from its reference of the condition of the poor, eſpecially the 'bondmen,' the then dying out 'villenage' of England; from its alluſions to the late, as well as to the preſent Engliſh king; from its ſurvey of Continental politics in 1516: and on other accounts.

The furtheſt diſcovery of Amerigo Veſpucci in his fourth voyage, along the coaſt-line of Brazil, appears to have been Cape Frio. Sir Thomas More apparently refers to Deodati's collection, in ſpeaking of 'thoſe iiii. voyages that be nowe in printe, and abrode in euery mannes handes;' which, in Latin, was firſt publiſhed in 1507, under the title of *Qvattvor Americi Veſpvttii Navagationes*. Near the end of this tract is the following account of what occurred on 3 April, 1504.

Relictus igitur in caſtello præfato Chriſticolis. xxiiij. et cum illis. xij. machinis ac alijs plurimus armis/ vna cum prouiſione pro ſexe menſibus ſufficiente/ . . .

On this paſſage More hangs his whole fiction. This is the carefully concealed ſtarting-point of the imaginary portion of his work. Thence the Portugueſe Hythlodaye wanders to the iſland of 'Nowhere,' which to More's mind was 'beyond the line equinoctial' between Brazil and India. There for five years and more Hythlodaye ſtudied the laws and habits of a community (allowing the very low average of 20 perſons to each of the 6000 houſeholds of the 54 cities) of 6,500,000

perſons; not including their country population or outlying 'forreyne towns.' At length, returning home from India in the Portugueſe fleet, Hythlodaye is repreſented as introduced by Peter Ægidius to More in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral: whence all three adjourn to the garden in Sir Thomas' houſe, where, on a bench 'covered with tornes' they, with John Clement, liſten a whole day to the ſtory of Hythlodaye: the contents of the firſt book being recounted before dinner: and thoſe of the ſecond between dinner and ſupper.

Hythlodaye may well ſay 'that this nation tooke their beginninge of the Grekes, bicauſe their ſpeche . . . . . kepeth dyuers ſignes and tokens of the greke langage in the names of their cityes, and of theire magiſtrates:'* as, for example, the following:—

ENGLISH.	LATIN.		GREEK.
Utopia	Utopia [= Nuſquama]		[illegible]
Hythlodaye	Hythlodæus	patro-	[illegible]
Achoriens	Archorii	nymic	[illegible]
Macariens	Macarenſii	forms of	[illegible]
Amaurot	Amaurotus		[illegible]
Anyder	Anydrus		[illegible]
Phylarch	Phylarchus		[illegible]

There is an eſſential difference of purpoſe in the ſomewhat ſimilar works of Plato and More. In the *Republic*, Plato, in the perſon of Socrates, endeavours 'thoroughly to inveſtigate the real nature of juſtice and injuſtice,' by firſt inveſtigating their character in cities, and afterwards by applying 'the ſame inquiry to the individual, looking for the counterpart of the greater as it exiſts in the form of the leſs.'† More, in the perſon of Hythlodaye, looking round the world, perceives nothing 'but a certein conſpiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities vnder the name and title of the commen wealth.'‡ Plato endeavours to attain to an exact idea of an abſtract virtue: More ſeeks to deviſe a ſyſtem in which the poor ſhall not periſh for lack, nor the rich be idle through exceſs of their riches: in which *every one* is *equally* of the commonwealth, and in which the *commonwealth* poſſeſs only a common wealth.

* p. 118. † *The Republic of Plato.* Ed. by J. L. [illegible], M.A., and D. J. VAUGHAN, M.A. p. 52. 3rd Ed. 186[illegible]. ‡ p. [illegible].

Circumstances
connected with the earlier issues
of
UTOPIA.

Referred to in *Letters & Papers Foreign & Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII.* Arranged and Catalogued by Rev. J. S. BREWER, M.A. London, 1864.

1513. [Feb. ?] [London?] MORE to ERASMUS. *Letters, &c.* ii. 430.
More's embassy has been successful, but tedious; has been away more than six months. . . . Has formed a close intimacy with Pet. Giles [Ægidius] of Antwerp.

1516. Oct. 31. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 777.
The *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* is popular everywhere. Is glad that Peter [Ægidius] likes his *Nusquama* [Utopia]. Wishes to hear if Tunstal approves of it, and other judges.

1516. Nov. 12. Louvain. GERARDUS NOVIOMAGUS (of Nimeguen) to ERASMUS. ii. 793.
His friend Theodoricus [Martin] will undertake to print the *Utopia*. Paludanus will show him a cut of the island by a great painter, if Erasmus desire any alterations.

1516. Nov. 18. Brussels. ERASMUS to PETER ÆGIDIUS. ii. 796.
Utopia is in the printer's hands.

1516. [?] Mechlin. JEROME BUSLIDANUS to MORE. ii. 814.
In praise of his *Utopia*.

1516. [?] London. MORE to PETRUS ÆGIDIUS. ii. 896.
Letter. Translated by Robinson at *pp.* 21-26.

[1516. Dec.? The Editio princeps appears. *Libellus vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festiuus, de optimo reip. statu, deque noua Insula Vtopia.* . . . It has no pagination. (1) First comes the picture-chart of the island above referred to; (2) Then the Utopian alphabet, in which A to L are represented by circles or curves; M by a triangle; and N to Y by rectangles or portions thereof: dashes being used in connection with these for further diversity. (3) Then we have Anemolius' Utopian Hekastichon, *see p.* 167; (4) Then Ægidius' letter to Busleyden, *see pp.* 163-166; (5) Then another letter to him, from John Paludanus, who also contributes a poem; neither of which were included in Robinson's translation; (6) Then a poem by Girardus Noviomagus, *De Utopia, see p.* 167; (7) Then the poem of Cornelius Graphæus, *Ad lectorem, see p.* 167; (8) Then Busleyden's letter to Thomas More, (not included in Robinson's translation); (9) Then More's letter to Ægidius, *see pp.* 21-26; (10) Then the Text, in two books.]

1517. [?] MORE to TUNSTALL. ii. 1541.
His last letters were the most delightful he ever received from him, as they spoke so highly of his Republica (*Utopia*). Trusts they were as sincere as candid. . . . . Was afraid, among his many avocations, he would not have time for such trifles, nor could he have done so except out of partiality. Is glad he is pleased with the work, and not less for his candid advice.

1517. Jan. 13. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 891.
Begs Erasmus will thank Paludanus and Giles [Ægidius].

1517. Feb. 24. Antwerp. ERASMUS to WILLIAM COPE. ii. 953.
Begs him to send for More's *Utopia*, if he has not yet read it, and wishes to see the true source of all political evils. [This proves the publication of the first edition before this date.]

1517. Mar. 1. Antwerp. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 958.
Sends one letter to Marliamus, who imagined that the first book of *Utopia* was written by Erasmus. . . . . As soon as More has corrected the *Utopia*, Erasmus will send the MS. to Basle or Paris.

1517. Mar. 8. Antwerp. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 963.
'Send the *Utopia* at your earliest opportunity.' A burgomaster at Antwerp is so pleased with it that he knows it all by heart.

1517. [?] London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 913.
Sent his *Utopia* some time since, and is delighted to hear it will come out in a magnificent form.

1517. July 31. Paris. GULIELMUS BUDÆUS to THOMAS LUPSET. ii. 1114.
Thanks him for a copy of More's *Utopia*. . . . Long commendation of the *Utopia*. [Printed in both editions of 1518.]

1517. Aug. 25. Louvain. ERASMUS to JOHN FROBENIUS. ii. 1127.
Sends . . . *Utopia* for Frobenius to print.

1517. [?] ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 1090.
Has sent More's *Epigrams* and *Utopia* to Basle.

1517. Aug. 28. Antwerp. FRANCIS CHIERBEGATO to ERASMUS. ii. 1131.
On his leaving England for Rome, to avoid the sweating sickness, touched at Antwerp and heard that Erasmus was staying with Petrus Ægidius, secretary to the municipality of Antwerp. On calling heard that Erasmus had started the day before for Louvain.

1517. [?] London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1155.
Is in the clouds with the dream of the government to be offered him by his Utopians; fancies himself a grand potentate, with a crown and a Franciscan cloak (*pallidamentum*), followed by a grand procession of the Amauri. Should it please Heaven to exalt him to this high dignity, where he will be too high to think of common acquaintances, he will still keep a corner in his heart for Erasmus and Tunstall; and should they pay him a visit to Utopia, he will make all his subjects honor them as is befitting the friends of majesty. The morn has dawned and dispelled his dream, and stripped off his royalty, plunging him down into his old mill-round at the Court.

1517. Aug. 31. Louvain. ERASMUS to TUNSTAL. ii. 1154.
Has taken up his abode at Louvain, and is on good terms with the theologians. Is staying with Paludanus, his ancient friend, but wants to find more room for his books.

1517. Sept. 3. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1157.
Sends his *Utopia* (*Nunquamnam nostram nunquam bene scriptam ad te mitto*).

1517. Sept. 15. Paris. THOMAS LUPSET to ERASMUS. ii. 1162.
Intends getting a new edition of More's *Utopia* printed.

1517. Dec. 15. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1201.
Expects his *Utopia*.

1518. Mar. 5 Louvain. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 1236.
The printers at Basle excuse their delay in the *Utopia* by reason of the preface added by Budæus. [This is the *third* edition.] Has seen a French edition of the *Utopia*. [Lupset's edition, printed by Gilles de Gourmont at Paris, must therefore rank as the *second* in point of time, but is only a reprint of the Louvain edition of 1516.]

1518. Nov. [Date of the Basle edition, *third* in point of time, *second* as regards authorship. It omits Paludanus' letter and poem of the first edition, and has in addition the above mentioned letters from Erasmus to Frobenius, and from Budé to Lupset. This edition therefore embodying also More's corrections of the previous year, is at once the most complete and more correct published in his lifetime.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Utopia.

* Editions not seen.

For the earliest Latin editions, see *pp.* 6, 7. Space does not permit detailing other Latin, or the French, German, Italian, and Spanish editions that have appeared.

ENGLISH EDITIONS.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

None.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

RALPH ROBINSON'S TRANSLATION.

I. *As a separate publication.*

1 1551. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Earliest translation:* see title at *p.* 11.

2 1556. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Second and revised translation:* see title at *p.* 17.

3 1597. London. 1 vol. 4to. A most pleasant fruitfull and wittie worke, . . . of the best state of a publique weale, and of the new Yle called Utopia. And now this third edition, newly corrected and amended.

4 1624. London. 1 vol. 4to. Sir T. More's Utopia . . . Now after many Impressions, newly corrected and purged of all errors hapned in the former edition. Printed by BEN. ALSOP: who dedicates it to *Cressacre More*, of *More place* in *North Mimes* in the countie of *Hertford*, Esquire; next in Bloud to Sir *Thomas More*; . . .

5 1639. London. 1 vol. 12mo. The Commonwealth of Utopia. . . . Another edition of No. 4.

14 1808. London. 1 vol. 4to. Utopia . . . With copious Notes, and a Biographical and Literary Introduction. By the Rev. T. F. DIBDIN, F.S.A. A reprint of the text of 1639, No. 5, which is itself a reprint of Alsop's of 1624: collated with Edition of 1551, No. 1.

18 1 Mar. 1869. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints:* see title at *p.* 1.

BP. GILBERT BURNET'S TRANSLATION.

I. *As a separate publication.*

6 1684. London. 1 vol. 8vo. Utopia . . . . translated into English.

7 1737. Dublin. 1 vol. 12mo. Utopia. . . . To this edition is added, a short account of Sir Thomas More's Life and his Trial.

8 1743. Glasgow. 1 vol. 8vo. Utopia or the Happy Republic; a Philosophical Romance, in two books.

9 1751. Oxford. 1 vol. 12mo. Utopia . . . . Revis'd, corrected and greatly improv'd by THOMAS WILLIAMSON.

10 1753. Oxford. 1 vol. 12mo. Utopia . . . The whole revis'd, corrected, and improv'd by A GENTLEMAN OF OXFORD. A reprint of No. 9.

12 *1808. London. 1 vol. 8vo. Utopia or the Best state of a Commonwealth, *Dibdin*, *clxxix of No.* 14.

16 *1849. London. 1 vol. 12mo. Utopia or the Happy Republic, *London Catalogue*.

17 1850. London. 1 vol. 12mo. *The Phœnix Library*, selected by JOHN MINTER MORGAN. Utopia, or The Happy Republic.

II. *With other works.*

11 1758. London. 1 vol. 8vo. Memoirs of the Life of Sir Thomas More . . . To which is added, his History of Utopia, ... with notes historical and explanatory by F. WARNER, LL.D.

15 1838. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *The Masterpieces of Prose Literature.* Vol. iv. Utopia; or the Happy Republic, with Lord Bacon's *New Atlantis*. With a preliminary discourse by J. A. ST. JOHN, Esqre.

ARTHUR CAYLEY'S (the younger) TRANSLATION.

II. *With other works.*

13 1808. London. 2 vols. 4to. Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a new translation of his *Utopia*, his History of King Richard III., and his Latin Poems. *Utopia* occupies ii. 1-143.

The

Life and Travels

of

RAPHAEL HYTHLODAYE.

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* Probable or approximate dates.

Based chiefly—besides the present work—on *Amerigo Vespucci, Son caractère, ses ecrits (même les moins authentiques), sa vie et ses navigations;* by F. A. de Varnhagen, Brazilian Minister to Peru, Chile, and Ecuador, &c. Lima, 1865, fol. See also *The Life and Voyages of Americus Vespucius*, by C. E. Lester and A. Foster. New York, 1846, 8vo.

The same Raphael Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue: but profounde and excellent in the Greke tongue. . . . . His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugal borne). *p.* 29. As concerning my frendes and kynsfolke (quod he, I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue sufficiently doone my parte towardes them already. *p.* 33.

As concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as yat which I sawe, whiles I trauailed abroade aboute the worlde, vsed in Persia amonge the people that commenly be called the Polylerites [Polyleritæ], *p.* 47.

1494. April. The King of Spain throws open the trade and navigation of the Indies to all ships taking their departure from Cadiz.

*1495. 'There [*i.e.* in England] I taried for the space of. iiii. or .v. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, yat the Westerne Englishe men made agaynst their King.' *p.* 36.

He stays with Cardinal Morton. At *pp.* 37–54, he gives an account of a table-talk, one day while he was in his house.

1497. May 10. The Florentine Amerigo Vespucci [b. 9 Mar. 1451—d. 22 Feb. 1512], in the employ of the King of Spain, leaves Cadiz with 4 ships. This, his first voyage, was chiefly about the

1498. Oct. 15. Gulf of Mexico. He returns to Cadiz 15 October 1498.

1499. May. Vespucci—again in the service of Spain—leaves Cadiz. This voyage, in part with Alonzo de Hojeda and Juan de la Cosa, brought him to the mainland of South America.

Hythlodaye, 'for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he ioyned himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the. iii. last voyages of

1500. Sept. those. iii. . . . he continued styl in his company.' *p.* 29.

1501. May 14. Vespucci—entering the service of the king of Portugal—leaves Lisbon on his *third* voyage; in which he continues his

1502. Sept. 7. discoveries along the coast of Brazil. He returns to Lisbon.

1503. May [June†] 10. Vespucci—still in the service of the king of Portugal—commands a ship in a squadron of 6 ships, under Gonçalo de Coelho.

Hythloday says, "When I was determyned to entre into my. iiii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchandise a prety fardel of bookes, bycause I intended to come againe rather neuer, than shortly."—*See list at p.* 119.

'Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus caried with him phisick bookes.' *p.* 119.

The squadron crossed the line, and on 10th Aug. saw distinctly on the horizon an island—which can be no other than Fernando de Noronha. The flag-ship, of 300 tons, was *wrecked on* a rock near the island, but happily the crew were

saved. Vespucci, then 4 leagues from the island, was ordered to find in it a harbour. He missed the island and lost sight of the other ships. After 8 days, however, he saw a sail on the horizon, which on joining proved to be one of them. Both vessels then returned to the island, and found the other three ships gone; anchored, took in wood, &c., and then set out for the appointed *rendezvous* in case of separation; Bahia, discovered in the previous voyage. There they arrived in 18 days: and

1503. Sept., Oct. waited for 2 months and 14 days. At length tired of the delay, the two commanders determined to explore the coast ahead. Sailing southward, they at length stopped at a port, which,

1503. Nov. (according to Varnhagen), can be no other than Cape Frio. Here they found a quantity of dye-wood (brazil), with which

1504. Mar. they loaded their ships; during a stay of 5 months.

Before returning, they left a little factory of 24 armed men

1504. April 3. in a fortress armed with 12 guns. Then setting out, in 77 days

1504. June 18. reached Lisbon on 18 June 1503; bring the earliest tidings of either themselves or their missing consorts; which on 4 Sept. 1504, Vespucci believed to be all lost. [*Condensed from Varnhagen, pp.* 114, 115.]

Hythlodaye 'gotte the licence of mayster Americke (though it was sore agains this wyll) to be one of the. xxiiii whiche in the ende of the laste voyage were left in the countrye of Gulike.' *p.* 30.

After the departynge of Mayster Vespuce, when he had trauailed through and aboute many Countreyes with. v. of his companions Gulikanes [*i.e.* of the above 24: one of these five was the above named Tricius Apinatus, *p.* 119.] *p.* 30.

*1505-*1510. Yf you had bene with me in Utopia, and had presentlye sene theire fashions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there. v. yeares, and moore, and wolde neuer hane commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knowen here. *p.* 69.

Amaurote . . . wherein I liued fiue whole yeares together. *p.* 77.

The ACHORIENS [Achorii], whiche be situate ouer agaynst the Iland of Utopia on the south easte side. *p.* 57.

The MACARIENS [Macarensii] whiche be not farre distaunt from Utopia. *p.* 62.

'The ANEMOLIANES [Anemolii] . . . dwell farre thence, and had verie litle a[c]quaintance with' the Utopians. *p.* 101.

The battell whiche the Utopians fought for the NEPHELOGETES [Nephelogetæ] against the ALAOPOLITANES [Alaopolitæ] a little before oure time . . . The Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, were nothing to be compared with them. *pp.* 132, 133.

The ZAPOLETES [Zapoletæ]. This people is. 500. myles from Utopia eastewarde. *p.* 136.

Hythlodaye marries the aunt of Anemolius, the Poet Laureate of Utopia. *p.* 167.

But because among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left aliue two of our companye beyng dead) there was no priest, . . . my departure. . . . *p.* 144.

At the last by merueylous chaunce he [Hythlodaye] arriued in Trapobane [Ceylon] from whence he went to Caliquit [Calicut], where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countrey shippes, wherein he retourned agayne to his Countreye, no thinge lesse then looked for. *p.* 30.

1515. *Nov. Sir T. More meeting Hythlodaye in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral, describes him as 'A man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his fauoure and apparell furthwith I iudged to bee a mariner.' *p.* 29.

*1516. Nov. 1. 'Very vncertain newes' [?] subsequently of Hythlodaye. *p.* 165.

A fruteful/ and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Utopia: written in Latine by Syr Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englyshe by Raphe Robynson Citizein and Goldsmythe of London, at the procurement, and earnest request of George Tadlowe Citezein and Haberdasher of the same Citie.

(.˙.)

¶ Emprinted at London by Abraham Vele, dwelling in Paules churcheyarde at the sygne of the Lambe. Anno,

1551.

To the right

honourable, and his verie singuler good maister, maister William Cecylle esquiere, one of the twoo principall secretaries to the kyng his moste excellente maiestie, Raphe Robynson wissheth continuaunce of health, with dayly increase of vertue, and honoure.

Upon a tyme, when tidynges came too the citie of Corinthe that kyng Philippe father to Alexander furnamed ye Great, was comming thetherwarde with an armie royall to lay siege to the citie: The Corinthians being forth with stryken with greate feare, beganne busilie, and earnestly to looke aboute them, and to falle to worke of all handes. Some to skowre and trymme vp harneis, some to carry stones, some to amende and buylde hygher the walles, some to rampiere and fortyfie the bulwarkes, and fortresses, some one thynge, and some an other for the defendinge, and strengthenynge of the citie. The whiche busie labour, and toyle of theires when Diogenes the philosopher sawe, hauing no profitable busines whereupon to sette himself on worke (neither any man required his labour, and helpe as expedient for the commen wealth in that necessitie) immediatly girded about him his philosophicall cloke, and began to rolle, and tumble vp and downe hether and thether vpon the hille syde, that lieth adioyninge to the citie, his great barrel or tunne, wherein he dwelled: for other dwellynge place wold

he haue none. This ſeing one of his frendes, and not a litell muſynge therat, came to hym: And I praye the Diogenes (quod he) whie doeſt thou thus, or what meaneſt thou hereby? Forſothe I am tumblyng my tubbe to (quod he) bycauſe it where no reaſon yat I only ſhould be ydell, where ſo many be working. In ſemblable maner, right honorable ſir, though I be, as I am in dede, of muche leſſe habilitie then Diogenes was to do any thinge, that ſhall or may be for the auaunce-ment and commoditie of the publique wealth of my natiue countrey: yet I ſeing euery ſort, and kynde of people in theire vocation, and degree buſilie occupied about the common wealthes affaires: and eſpecially learned men dayly putting forth in writing newe inuentions, and deuiſes to the furtheraunce of the ſame: thought it my bounden duetie to God, and to my countrey ſo to tumble my tubbe, I meane ſo to occupie, and exerciſe meſelf in beſtowing ſuch ſpare houres, as I beinge at ye becke, and commaundement of others, cold conueniently winne to me ſelf: yat though no commoditie of that my labour, and trauaile to the publique weale ſhould ariſe, yet it myght by this appeare, yat myne endeuoire, and good wille hereunto was not lacking. To the accompliſhement therfore, and fulfyllyng of this my mynde, and purpoſe: I toke vpon me to tourne, and tranſlate oute of Latine into oure Engliſhe tonge the frutefull, and profitable boke, which ſir Thomas more knight compiled, and made of the new yle Utopia, conteining and ſetting forth ye beſt ſtate, and fourme of a publique weale: A worke (as it appeareth) written almoſt fourtie yeres ago by the ſaid ſir Thomas More ye authour therof. The whiche man, forafmuche as he was a man of late tyme, yea almoſt of thies our dayes: and for ye excellent qualities, wherewith the great goodnes of God had plentyfully endowed him, and for ye high place, and rowme, wherunto his prince had moſt graciouſly called him, notably wel knowen, not only among vs his countremen, but alſo in *forrein* countreis and nations: therfore I

haue not much to ſpeake of him. This only I ſaye: yat it is much to be lamented of al, and not only of vs Engliſh men, yat a man of ſo incomparable witte, of ſo profounde knowlege, of ſo abſolute learning, and of ſo fine eloquence was yet neuertheleſſe ſo much blinded, rather with obſtinacie, then with ignoraunce yat he could not or rather would not ſee the ſhining light of godes holy truthe in certein principal pointes of Christian religion: but did rather cheuſe to perſeuer, and continue in his wilfull and ſtubbourne obſtinacie euen to ye very death. This I ſay is a thing much to be lamented. But letting this matter paſſe, I retourne again to Utopia. Which (as I ſaid befor) is a work not only for ye matter yat it conteineth fruteful and profitable, but alſo for ye writers eloquent latine ſtiele pleaſaunt and delectable. Which he yat readeth in latine, as ye authour himſelf wrote it, perfectly vnderſtanding ye ſame: doubtles he ſhal take great pleaſure, and delite both in ye ſweete eloquence of ye writer, and alſo in ye wittie inuencion, and fine conueiaunce, or diſpoſition of ye matter: but moſt of all in the good, and holſome leſſons, which be there in great plenty, and aboundaunce. But nowe I feare greatly yat in this my ſimple tranſlation through my rudenes and ignoraunce in our engliſh tonge all the grace and pleaſure of ye eloquence, wherwith ye matter in latine is finely ſet forth may ſeme to be vtterly excluded, and loſt: and therfore the frutefulnes of the matter it ſelfe muche peraduenture diminiſhed, and appayred. For who knoweth not whiche knoweth any thyng, that an eloquent ſtyele ſetteth forth and highly commendeth a meane matter? Where as on the other ſide rude, and vnlearned ſpeche defaceth and diſgraceth a very good matter. According as I harde ones a wiſe man ſay: A good tale euel tolde were better vntold, and an euell tale well tolde nedeth none other ſollicitour. This thing I well pondering and wayinge with me ſelf, and alſo knowing, and knowledging the barbarous rudenes of my tranſlation was fully determined neuer

to haue put it forth in printe, had it not bene for certein frendes of myne, and eſpecially one, whom aboue al other I regarded, a man of ſage, and diſcret witte and in wor[l]dly matters by long vſe well experienced, whoes name is George Tadlowe: an honeſt citizein of London, and in the ſame citie well accepted, and of good reputation: at whoes requeſt, and inſtaunce I firſt toke vpon my weake, and feble ſholders ye heauie, and weightie bourdein of this great enterprice. This man with diuers other, but this man chiefely (for he was able to do more with me, then many other) after that I had ones rudely brought ye worke to an ende, ceaſſed not by al meanes poſſible continualy to aſſault me, vntil he had at ye laſte, what by ye force of his pitthie argumentes and ſtrong reaſons, and what by hys authority ſo perſuaded me, that he cauſed me to agree and conſente to the impryntynge herof. He therfore, as the chiefe perſuadour, muſt take vpon him the daunger, whyche vpon this bolde, and raſhe enterpryſe ſhall enſue. I, as I ſuppoſe, am herin clerely acquytte, and diſcharged of all blame. Yet, honorable Syr for the better auoyding of enuyous and malycyous tonges, I (knowynge you to be a man, not onlye profoundely learned, and well affected towardes all ſuche, as eyther canne, or wyll take paynes in ye well beſtowing of that poore talente, whyche GOD hath endued them wyth: but alſo for youre godlye dyſpoſytyon, and vertuous qualytyes not vnworthelye nowe placed in aucthorytye, and called to honoure) am the bolder humblye to offer and dedycate vnto youre good mayſterſhyppe thys my ſymple woorke. Partly that vnder the ſauffe conducte of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquie of them, which can ſay well by nothing, that pleaſeth not their fond, and corrupt iudgementes, though it be els both frutefull and godly: and partlye that by the meanes of this homely preſent I may the better renewe, and reuiue (which of late, as you know, I haue already begonne to do) yat *old acquayntaunce*, that was betwene you and me in

the time of our childhode, being then ſcolefellowes togethers. Not doubting that you for your natiue goodnes, and gentelnes will accept in good parte this poore gift, as an argument, or token, that mine old good wil, and hartye affection towardes you is not by reaſon of long tract of time, and ſeparation of our bodies any thinge at all quayled and diminiſhed, but rather (I aſſuer you) much augmented, and increaſed. This verely is ye chieffe cauſe, yat hath incouraged me to be ſo bolde with youre maiſterſhippe. Els truelye this my poore preſent is of ſuch ſimple and meane ſort, that it is neyther able to recompenſe the leaſt portion of your great gentelnes to me, of my part vndeſerued, both in the time of our olde acquayntance, and alſo now lately again bountifully ſhewed : neither yet fitte, and mete for the very baſenes of it to be offered to one ſo worthy, as you be. But almighty god (who therfore euer be thanked) hath auaunced you to ſuch fortune, and dignity, that you be of hability to accept thankefully aſwell a mans good will as his gift. The ſame god graunte you and all yours long, and ioyfull to contynue in all godlynes and proſperytye.

(.˙.)

A frutefull

pleasaunt, and wittie worke,

of the beste state of a publique

weale, and of the newe yle, called Uto-

pia: written in Latine, by the right wor-

thie and famous Syr Thomas More

knyght, and translated into Englishe by

Raphe Robynson, sometime fellowe

of Corpus Christi College in Ox-

ford, and nowe by him at this se-

conde edition newlie peru-

sed and corrected, and

also with diuers no-

tes in the margent

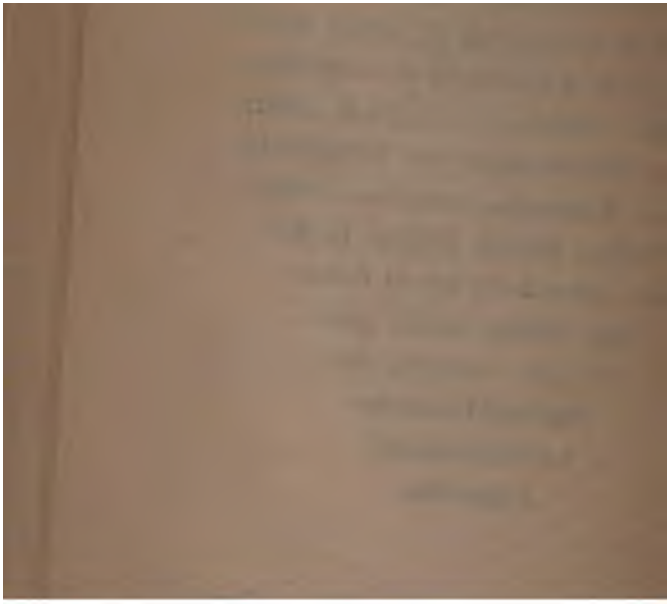
augmented.

Emprinted at London, by

Abraham Vele, dwellinge in

Pauls churchyarde, at the signe

of the Lambe.



¶ The translator to the gentle reader.

THou ſhalte vnderſtande gentle reader that thoughe this worke of Utopia in Engliſh, come nowe the ſeconde tyme furth in Print, yet was it neuer my minde nor intente, that it ſhoulde euer haue bene Imprinted at all, as who for no ſuch purpoſe toke vpon me at the firſte the tranſlation thereof: but did it onelye at the requeſt of a frende, for his owne priuate vſe, vpon hope that he wolde haue kept it ſecrete to hym ſelf alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie, and alſo ſkilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the Latin tonge, he was not ſo well ſene, as to be hable to iudge of the fineneſ or courſeneſ of my tranſlation. Wherfore I wente the more ſleightlye through with it, propoundynge to my ſelfe therein, rather to pleaſe my ſayde frends iudgemente, then myne owne. To the meaneſſe of whoſe learninge I thoughte it my part to ſubmit, and attemper my ſtile. Lightlie therefore I ouer ran the whole worke, and in ſhort tyme, with more haſt, then good ſpede, I broughte it to an ende. But as the latin prouerbe ſayeth: The haſtye bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes. For when this my worke was finiſhed, the rudeneſ therof ſhewed it to be done in poſte haſte. How be it, rude and baſe though it were, yet fortune ſo ruled the matter that to Imprintinge it came, and that partly againſt my wyll. Howebeit not beinge hable in this behalfe to reſiſt the pitthie perſuaſions of my frendes, and perceauing therfore none other remedy, but that furth it ſhoulde: I comforted myſelfe for the tyme, only with this notable ſaying of Terence.

Ita vita eſt hominum, quaſi quum ludas teſſeris.
Si illud, quod eſt maxumè opus iactu non cadit:
Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte vt corrigas.

In which verſes the Poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a diceplaiyng or a game at the tables: Meanynge therein, if that chaunce rife not, whiche is

moſt for the plaiers aduauntage, that then the chaunce, which fortune hathe ſent, ought ſo connyngly to be played, as may be to the plaier leaſt dammage. By the which worthy ſimilitude ſurely the wittie Poete geueth vs to vnderſtande, that though in any of our actes and doynges, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and miſſe of our good pretenſed purpoſe, ſo that the ſucceſſe and our intente proue thinges farre odde: yet ſo we ought with wittie circumſpection to handle the matter, that no euyll or incommoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in vs lieth, do therof enſue. According to the whiche counſell, though I am in dede in compariſon of an experte gameſter and a conning player, but a verye bungler, yet haue I in this by chaunce, that on my ſide vnwares hath fallen, ſo (I ſuppoſe) behaued myſelf, that, as doubtles it might haue bene of me much more conningly handled, had I forethought ſo much, or doubted any ſuch ſequele at the beginninge of my plaie: ſo I am ſuer it had bene much worſe then it is, if I had not in the ende loked ſomwhat earneſtlye to my game. For though this worke came not from me ſo fine, ſo perfecte, and ſo exact yat at firſt, as ſurely for my ſmale lerning, it ſhould haue done, yf I had then ment the publiſhing therof in print: yet I truſt I haue now in this ſeconde edition taken about it ſuch paines, yat verye fewe great faultes and notable errours are in it to be founde. Now therfore, moſt gentle reader, the meaneſſe of this ſimple tranſlation, and the faultes that be therin (as I feare muche there be ſome) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in iuſt conſideration of the premiſſes, gentlye and fauourablye winke at them. So doynge thou ſhalt miniſter vnto me good cauſe to thinke my labour and paynes herein not altogethers beſtowed in vaine.

VALE.

¶ Thomas More to Peter Giles, sendeth greetynge.

I Am almoſte aſhamed, righte welbeloued Peter Giles, to ſend vnto you this boke of ye Utopian commen wealth, welneigh after a yeres ſpace, whiche I am ſure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe. And no marueil. For you knewe well ynough, that I was alreadye diſbourdened of all the laboure and ſtudye belongynge to the inuention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the diſpoſition, or conueiaunce of the matter: and therfore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearſe thoſe thinges, whiche you and I togethers hard maiſter Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cauſe why I ſhuld ſtudy to ſetforth the matter with eloquence: for aſmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, beynge firſte not ſtudied for, but ſuddein and vnpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a man better ſene in the Greke language, then in the latin tonge. And my writynge, the niegher it ſhould approche to his homely plaine, and ſimple ſpeche, ſomuche the niegher ſhuld it go to the trueth: which is the onelye marke, wherunto I do and ought to directe all my trauail and ſtudy herin. I graunte and confeſſe, frende Peter, myſelfe diſcharged of ſo muche laboure, hauinge all theſe thinges ready done to my hande, that almooſte there was nothinge left for me to do. Elles either the inuention, or the diſpoſition of this matter myghte haue required of a witte neither baſe, neither at all vnlearned, both ſome time and leaſure, and alſo ſome ſtudye. *But if it were requiſite*, and neceſſarie, that the matter

Trueth loueth ſimplicitie and playnes.

ſhoulde alſo haue bene wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye: of a ſueretie that thynge coulde I haue perfourmed by no tyme nor ſtudye. But now ſeynge all theſe cares, ſtayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles ſo muche laboure and ſtudye ſhoulde haue bene employed, and that there remayned no other thynge for me to do, but onelye to write playnelie the matter as I hard it ſpoken: that in deede was a thynge lighte and eaſye to be done. Howbeit to the diſpatchynge of thys ſo lytle buſyneſſe, my other cares and troubles did leaue almoſt leſſe, then no leaſure.

The authors bussines and lettes.

Whiles I doo dayelie beſtowe my time aboute lawe matters: ſome to pleade, ſome to heare, ſome as an arbitratoure with myne awarde to determine, ſome as an vmpier or a Iudge, with my ſentence finallye to diſcuſſe. Whiles I go one waye to ſee and viſite my frende: an other waye about myne owne priuat affaires. Whiles I ſpende almoſt al the day abrode emonges other, and the reſidue at home among mine owne; I leaue to my ſelf, I meane to my booke no time For when I am come home, I muſte commen with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke wyth my ſeruauntes. All the whiche thinges I recken and accompte amonge buſineſſe, foraſmuche as they muſte of neceſſitie be done: and done muſte they nedes be, oneleſſe a man wyll be ſtraunger in his owne houſe. And in any wyſe a man muſte ſo faſhyon and order hys conditions, and ſo appoint and diſpoſe him ſelfe, that he be merie, iocunde, and pleaſaunt amonge them, whom eyther nature hathe prouided, or chaunce hath made, or he hym ſelfe hath choſen to be the felowes, and companyons of hys life: ſo that with to muche gentle behauioure and familiaritie, he do not marre them, and by to muche ſufferaunce of his ſeruauntes, make them his mayſters. Emonge theſe thynges now rehearſed, ſtealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while haue I ſpoken no worde of ſlepe, neyther yet of meate, which emong a great number doth waſt no leſſe tyme,

then doeth ſlepe, wherein almoſte halfe the life tyme of man crepeth awaye. I therefore do wynne and get onelye that tyme, whiche I ſteale from ſlepe and meate. Whiche tyme becauſe it is very litle, and yet ſomwhat it is, therfore haue I ones at the laſte, thoughe it be longe firſt, finiſhed Utopia; and haue ſent it to you, frende Peter, to reade and peruſe: to the intente that yf anye thynge haue eſcaped me, you might put me in remembraunce of it. For thoughe in this behalfe I do not greatlye miſtruſte my ſelfe (whiche woulde God I were ſomwhat in wit and learninge, as I am not all of the worſte and dulleſt memorye) yet haue I not ſo great truſte and confidence in it, that I thinke nothinge coulde fall out of my mynde. For Iohn Clement my boye, who as you know was there preſente with vs, whome I ſuffer to be awaye frome no talke, wherein maye be any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this yonge bladed and new ſhotte vp corne, whiche hathe alreadye begon to ſpring vp both in Latin and Greke learnyng, I loke for plentifull increaſe at length of goodly rype grayne) he I ſaye hathe broughte me into a greate doubte. For wheras Hythlodaye (oneleſſe my memorye fayle me) ſayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whyche goethe ouer the riuer of Anyder is fyue hundreth paſeis, that is to ſaye, halfe a myle in lengthe: my Iohn ſayeth that two hundred of thoſe paſeis muſte be plucked away, for that the ryuer conteyneth there not aboue three hundreth paſeis in breadthe, I praye you hartelye call the matter to youre remembraunce. For yf you agree wyth hym, I alſo wyll ſaye as you ſaye, and confeſſe myſelfe deceaued. But if you cannot remember the thing, then ſurelye I wyll write as I haue done, and as myne owne remembraunce ſerueth me. For as I wyll take good hede, that there be in my booke nothing falſe, so yf there be anye thynge doubteſull, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a lie: bycauſe I had rather be good, then wilie. *Howebeit thys* matter maye eaſelye be remedied,

Meate and ſlepe great wasters of time.

Iohn Clement.

yf you wyll take the paynes to aſke the queſtion of Raphael him ſelfe by woorde of mouthe, if he be nowe with you, or elles by youre letters. Whiche you muſte nedes do for an other doubte alſo, that hathe chaunced, throughe whoſe faulte I cannot tel: whether through mine, or yours, or Raphaels. For neyther we remembred to enquire of him, nor he to tel vs in what part of the newe world Utopia is ſituate. The whiche thinge, I had rather haue ſpent no ſmall ſomme of money, then that it ſhould thus haue eſcaped vs: aſwell for that I am aſhamed to be ignoraunt in what ſea that ylande ſtandeth, wherof I write ſo long a treatiſe, as alſo becauſe there be with vs certen men, and eſpeciallie one vertuous and godly man, and a profeſſour of diuinitie, who is excedynge deſierous to go vnto Utopia: not for a vayne and curious deſyre to ſee newes, but to the intente he maye further and increaſe oure religion, whiche is there alreadye luckelye begonne. And that he maye the better accomplyſhe and perfourme this hys good intente, he is mynded to procure that he maye be ſente thether by the hieghe Byſhoppe: yea, and that he himſelfe may be made Biſhoppe of Utopia, beynge nothynge ſcrupulous herein, that he muſte obteyne this Byſhopricke with ſuete. For he counteth that a godly ſuete, which procedeth not of the deſire of honoure or lucre, but onelie of a godlie zeale. Wherfore I moſte earneſtly deſire you, frende Peter, to talke with Hythlodaye, yf you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym, and ſo to woorke in thys matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther anye thinge be founde, whyche is vntrue, neyther any thinge be lacking, whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it ſhalbe well done, that you ſhewe vnto him the book it ſelfe. For yf I haue myſſed or fayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulte haue eſcaped me, no man can ſo well correcte and *amende it*, as he can: and yet that can he not do,

In what parte of the worlde Utopia ſtandeth it is vnknowen.

It is thoughte of some that here is vnfainedly ment the late famous vicare of Croydon in Surrey.

A godly suete.

oneles he peruſe, and reade ouer my booke written. Moreouer by this meanes ſhall you perceaue, whether he be well wyllynge and content, that I ſhoulde vndertake to put this woorke in writyng. For if he be mynded to publyſhe, and put forth his owne laboures, and trauayles himſelfe, perchaunce he woulde be lothe, and ſo woulde I alſo, that in publiſhynge the Utopiane weale publyque, I ſhoulde preuent him, and take frome him the flower and grace of the noueltie of this his hiſtorie. Howbeit, to ſaye the verye trueth, I am not yet fullye determined with my ſelfe, whether I will put furth my booke or no. For the natures of men be ſo diuers, the phantaſies of ſome ſo waywarde, their myndes ſo vnkynde, their iudgementes ſo corrupte, that they which leade a merie and a iocounde lyfe, folowynge theyr owne ſenſuall pleaſures and carnall luſtes, maye ſeme to be in a muche better ſtate or caſe, then they that vexe and vnquiete themſelues with cares and ſtudie for the puttinge forthe and publiſhynge of ſome thynge, that maye be either profeit or pleaſure to others: whiche others neuertheles will diſdainfully, ſcornefully, and vnkindly accepte the ſame. The mooſt part of al be vnlearned. And a greate number hathe learning in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing, but that which is verie barbarous in dede. If it be one that hath a little ſmacke of learnynge, he reiecteth as homely geare and commen ware, whatſoeuer is not ſtuffed full of olde moughteaten termes, and that be worne out of vſe. Some there be that haue pleaſure onelye in olde ruſtie antiquities. And ſome onelie in their owne doynges. One is ſo ſowre, ſo crabbed, and ſo vnpleaſaunte, that he can awaye with no myrthe nor ſporte. An other is ſo narrowe betwene ye ſhulders, that he can beare no ieſtes nor tauntes. Some feli poore ſoules be ſo afeard that at euerye ſnappiſhe woorde their noſe ſhall be bitten of, that they ſtande in no leſſe drede of euerye quicke and ſharpe woorde, than he that is bitten of a madde dogge feareth water. Some be ſo mutable and

The vnkynde iudgementes of men.

wauerynge, that euery houre they be in a newe mynde, ſayinge one thinge ſyttinge, and an other thynge ſtandynge. An other ſorte ſytteth vpon their allebencheis, and there amonge their cuppes they geue iudgement of the wittes of writers, and with greate authoritie they condempne euen as pleaſeth them, euerye writer accordynge to his writinge, in moſte ſpitefull maner mockynge, lowtinge, and flowtinge them; beyng them ſelues in the meane ſeaſon ſauffe, and as ſayeth the prouerbe, oute of all daunger of gonneſhotte. For why, they be ſo ſmugge and ſmothe, that they haue not ſo much as one hearre of an honeſte man, wherby one may take holde of them. There be moreouer ſome ſo vnkynde and vngentle, that thoughe they take great pleaſure, and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their hertes to loue the Author therof, nor to aforde him a good woorde: beynge much like vncourteous, vnthankfull, and chourliſh geſtes. Whiche when they haue with good and daintie meates well fylled theire bellyes, departe home, geuyng no thankes to the feaſte maker. Go your wayes now, and make a coſtlye feaſte at youre owne charges for geſtes ſo dayntie mouthed, ſo diuers in taſte, and beſides that of ſo vnkynde and vnthankfull natures. But neuertheles (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Hithloday, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I ſhall be at my libertie, afterwardes to take newe aduiſement. Howbeit, ſeeyng I haue taken great paynes and laboure in writyng the matter, if it may ſtande with his mynde and pleaſure, I wyll as touchyng the edition or publiſhyng of the booke, followe the counſell and aduiſe of my frendes, and ſpeciallye yours. Thus fare you well right hertely beloued frende Peter, with your gentle wife: and loue me as you haue euer done, for I loue you better then euer I dyd.

A fitte Similitude.

¶ The first

Booke of the communication of Raphael Hythlodaye, concernyng the best state of a commen welth.

THe moſte victorious and triumphant Kyng of Englande Henrye the eyght of that name, in al roial vertues, a Prince moſt pereleſſe, hadde of late in controuerſie with Charles, the right highe and mightye Kyng of Caſtell, weighty matters, and of great importaunce. For the debatement and final determination wherof, the kinges Maieſty ſent me Ambaſſadour into Flaunders, ioyned in Commiſſion with Cuthbert Tunſtall, a man doutleſſe out of compariſon, and whom the Kynges Maieſtie of late, to the great reioyſynge of all men, dyd preferre to the office of Maiſter of the Rolles. Cuthbert Tunstall.

But of this mannes prayſes I wyll ſaye nothyng, not bicauſe I doo feare that ſmall credence ſhalbe geuen to the teſtimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe: but bicauſe his vertue and lernyng be greater, and of more excellency, then that I am able to praiſe them: and alſo in all places ſo famous and ſo perfectly well knowne, that they neede not, nor oughte not of me to bee prayſed, vnleſſe I woulde ſeeme to ſhew, and ſet-furth the brightnes of the ſonne with a candell, as the Prouerbe ſaieth. There mette vs at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for that *matter appoynted* Commiſſioners: excellent men

all. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Maregraue (as thei call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wiſeſt and the beſt ſpoken of them was George Temſice, prouoſt of Caſſelſes, a man, not only by lernyng, but alſo by nature of ſingular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reaſonynge, and debatyng of matters what by his naturall witte, and what by daily exerciſe, ſurely he hadde few fellowes. After that we had once or twiſe mette, and vpon certayne poyntes or articles coulde not fully and throughly agree, they for a certayne ſpace tooke their leaue of vs, and departed to Bruxelle, there to know their Princes pleaſure. I in the meane time (for ſo my buſines laye) wente ſtreighte thence to Antwerpe. Whiles I was there abidynge, often times amonge other, but whiche to me was more welcome then annye other, dyd viſite me one Peter Giles, a Citiſen of Antwerpe, a man there in his countrey of honeſt reputation, and alſo preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the hygheſt. For it is hard to ſay, whether the yong man be in learnyng, or in honeſtye more excellent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and alſo ſingularly wel learned, and towardes all ſortes of people excedyng gentyll: But towardes his frendes ſo kynde herted, ſo louyng, ſo faithfull, ſo truſtye, and of ſo earneſt affection, that it were verye harde in any place to fynde a man, that with him in all poyntes of frendſhippe maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man vſeth leſſe ſimulation or diſſimulation, in no man is more prudent ſimplicitie. Beſides this, he is in his talke and communication ſo merye and pleaſaunte, yea and that withoute harme, that throughe his gentyll intertaynement, and his ſweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated, and diminiſhed the feruente deſyre, that I had to ſee my natiue countrey, my wyfe and my chyldren, whom then I dyd muche longe and couete to ſee, becauſe that at that time I had been more then. iiii. *Monethes* from them. Vpon a certayne daye when I

Peter Gyles.

hadde herde the diuine ſeruice in our Ladies Churche, which is the fayreſt, the moſt gorgeous and curious Churche of buyldyng in all the Citie, and alſo moſt frequented of people, and the ſeruice beynge doone, was readye to go home to my lodgynge, I chaunced to eſpye this foreſayde Peter talkynge with a certayne Straunger, a man well ſtricken in age, with a blacke ſonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke caſt homly about his ſhoulders, whome, by his fauoure and apparell ſurthwith I iudged to bee a mariner. But the ſayde Peter ſeyng me, came vnto me, and ſaluted me.

And as I was aboute to anſwere him: ſee you this man, ſayth he (and therewith he poynted to the man, that I ſawe hym talkynge with before) I was mynded, quod he, to brynge him ſtrayghte home to you.

He ſhould haue ben very welcome to me, ſayd I, for your ſake.

Nay (quod he) for his owne ſake, if you knewe him: for there is no man thys day liuyng, that can tell you of ſo manye ſtraunge and vnknowen peoples, and Countreyes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be very deſirous to heare of ſuche newes.

Then I coniectured not farre amiſſe (quod I) for euen at the firſt ſyght, I iudged him to be a mariner.

Naye (quod he) there ye were greatly deceyued: he hath ſailed in deede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the experte and prudent prince Vliſſes: Yea, rather as the auncient and ſage Philoſopher Plato. For this ſame Raphaell Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue: but profounde and excellent in the Greke language. Wherin he euer beſtowed more ſtudye then in the Latine, bycauſe he had geuen himſelfe wholy to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. Wherof he knew that ther is nothyng extante in Latine, that is to anye purpoſe, ſauynge a fewe of Senecaes, and Ciceroes dooynges. His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugall borne) and for the deſire that he had to ſee, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he ioyned

Raphaell Hithlodaye

himſelfe in company with Amerike Veſpuce, and in the. iii. laſt voyages of thoſe. iiii. that be nowe in printe, and abrode in euery mannes handes, he continued ſtyll in his company, ſauyng that in the laſt voyage he came not home agayne with him. For he made ſuche meanes and ſhift, what by intretaunce, and what by importune ſute, that he gotte licence of mayſter Americke (though it were ſore againſt his wyll) to be one of the. xxiiii whiche in the ende of the laſt voyage were left in the countrey of Gulike. He was therefore lefte behynde for hys mynde ſake, as one that tooke more thoughte and care for trauailyng, then dyenge: hauyng cuſtomably in his mouth theſe ſaiynges. He that hathe no graue, is couered with the ſkye: and, the way to heauen out of all places is of like length and diſtaunce. Which fantaſy of his. (if God had not ben his better frende) he had ſurely bought full deare. But after the departynge of Mayſter Veſpuce, when he had trauailed thorough and aboute many Countreyes with. v. of his companions Gulikianes, at the laſt by merueylous chaunce he arriued in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countreye ſhippes, wherein he retourned agayne into his Countreye, nothynge leſſe then looked for.

All this when Peter hadde tolde me: I thanked him for his gentle kindneſſe, that he had vouchſafed to brynge me to the ſpeache of that man, whoſe communication: he thoughte ſhoulde be to me pleaſaunte, and acceptable. And therewith I tourned me to Raphaell. And when wee hadde haylſed eche other: and had ſpoken theſe commune woordes, that bee cuſtomablye ſpoken at the firſt meting, and acquaintaunce of ſtraungers, we went thence to my houſe, and there in my gardaine vpon a bench couered with greene torues, we ſatte downe talkyng together. There he tolde vs, how that after the departyng of Veſpuce, he and his fellowes that taried behynde in Gulicke, began by litle and litle, throughe fayre and gentle ſpeache, to wynne the loue and fauoure of the people of that countreye, inſomuche

that within ſhorte ſpace, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmleſſe, but alſo occupiyng with them verye familiarly. He tolde vs alſo, that they were in high reputation and fauour with a certayne great man (whoſe name and Countreye is nowe quite out of my remembraunce) which of his mere liberalitie dyd beare the coſtes and charges of him and his fyue companions. And beſides that gaue theim a truſtye guyde to conducte them in their iourney (which by water was in botes, and by land in wagons) and to brynge theim to other Princes with verye frendlye commendations. Thus after manye dayes iourneys, he ſayd, they founde townes, and Cities, and weale publiques, full of people, gouerned by good and holſome lawes. For vnder the line equinoctiall, and on bothe ſydes of the ſame, as farre as the Sonne doth extende his courſe, lyeth (quod he) great, and wyde deſertes and wilderneſſes, parched, burned, and dryed vp with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lothefome, and vnpleaſaunt to beholde: All thynges out of faſſyon, and comelineſſe, inhabited withe wylde Beaſtes, and Serpentes, or at the leaſte wyſe, with people, that be no leſſe ſauage, wylde, and noyſome, then the verye beaſtes theim ſelues be. But a little farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle and lytle to waxe pleaſaunte. The ayre ſoſte, temperate and, gentle. The grounde couered with grene graſſe. Leſſe wildneſſe in the beaſtes. At the laſt ſhall ye come agayne to people, cities and townes wherein is continuall entercourſe and occupiyng of merchaundiſe and chaffare, not only among themſelues, and with theire Borderers, but alſo with Merchauntes of farre Countreyes, bothe by lande and water. There I had occaſion (ſayd he) to go to many countreyes on euery ſyde. For there was no ſhippe ready to any voyage or iourney, but I and my fellowes were into it very gladly receyued. Shippes of straunge fassions
The ſhippes that thei founde firſt were made playn, flatte, and broade in the botome, trough wiſe. *The ſayles* were made of great ruſſhes, or of

wickers, and in ſome places of lether. Afterwarde thei founde ſhippes with ridged kyeles: and ſayles of canuaſſe, yea, and ſhortly after hauyng all thynges lyke oures. The ſhipmen alſo very experte and cunnynge, bothe in the ſea, and in the wether. But he ſaide, that he founde great ſauoure and frendſhip amonge them, for teachynge them the feate and the vſe of the lode ſtone. Whiche to them before that time was vnknowne. And therfore they were wonte to be verye timerous and fearfull vpon the ſea: Nor to venter vpon it, but only in the ſomer time. But nowe they haue ſuche a confidence in that ſtone, that they feare not ſtormy winter: in ſo dooynge farther from care then daunger, In ſo muche, that it is greatly to be doubted, leſt that thyng, throughe their owne foliſh hardineſſe, ſhall tourne them to euyll and harme, which at the firſt was ſuppoſed ſhoulde be to them good and commodious.

The lode stone.

But what he tolde vs that he ſawe in euerye countreye where he came, it were very longe to declare. Neither it is my purpoſe at this time to make reherſall therof. But peraduenture in an other place I wyll ſpeake of it, chiefly ſuche thynges as ſhall be profitable too bee knowen, as in ſpeciall be thoſe decrees and ordinaunces, that he marked to be well and wittely prouided and enacted amonge ſuche peoples, as do liue together in a ciuile policye, and good ordre. For of ſuche thynges dyd wee buſelye enquire, and demaunde of him, and he likewiſe very willingly tolde vs of the ſame. But as for monſters, bycauſe they be no newes, of them we were nothyng inquiſitiue. For nothyng is more eaſye to bee founde. then bee barkynge Scyllaes, rauenyng Celenes, and Leſtrigones deuourers of people, and ſuche lyke great, and incredible monſters. But to fynde Citiſens ruled by good and holſome lawes, that is an exceding rare, and harde thyng. But as he marked many fonde, and foliſſhe lawes in thoſe newe *founde* landes, ſo he reherſed diuers actes, and conſti*tutions,* whereby theſe oure Cities, Nations, Countreis,

and Kyngdomes may take example to amende their faultes, enormities and errours. Wherof in another place (as I ſayde) I wyll intreate.

Now at this time I am determined to reherſe onely that he tolde vs of the maners, cuſtomes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the Utopians. But firſt I wyll repete oure former communication by th[e] occaſion, and (as I might ſaye) the driſte wherof, he was brought into the mention of that weale publique.

For, when Raphael had very prudentlye touched diuers thynges, that be amiſſe, ſome here, and ſome there, yea, very many on bothe partes, and againe had ſpoken of ſuche wiſe lawes, and prudente decrees, as be eſtabliſhed, and vſed, bothe here amonge vs, and alſo there amonge theym, as a man ſo perfecte, and experte in the lawes, and cuſtomes of euery ſeuerall Countrey, as though into what place ſoeuer he came geaſtwiſe, there he had ledde al his life: then Peter muche meruailynge at the man: Surely maiſter Raphael (quod he) I wondre greatly, why you gette you not into ſome kinges courte. For I am ſure, there is no Prince liuyng, that wold not be very glad of you, as a man not only hable highly to delite him with your profounde learnyng, and this your knowlege of countreis, and peoples, but alſo mete to inſtructe him with examples, and helpe him with counſell. And thus doyng, you ſhall bryng your ſelfe in a verye good caſe, and alſo be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes and kinſfolke.

As concernyng my frendes and kynſfolke (quod he) I paſſe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue ſufficiently doone my parte towardes them already. For theſe thynges, that other men doo not departe from, vntyl they be olde and ſycke, yea, whiche they be then verye lothe to leaue, when they canne no longer keepe, thoſe very ſame thynges dyd I beyng not only luſtye, and in good helth, but alſo in the floure of my youth, diuide among my frendes and kynſfolkes. Which I thynke with this my liberalitie ought to holde them contented, and *not to require nor to* loke that beſydes this, I ſhoulde

for their ſakes geue myſelfe in bondage vnto Kinges.

Nay, God forbyd that (quod Peter) it is notte my mynde that you ſhoulde be in bondage to Kynges, but as a retainour to them at your pleaſure. Whiche ſurely I thinke is the nigheſt waye that you can deuiſe howe to beſtowe your time frutefully, not onlye for the priuate commoditie of your frendes, and for the generall profite of all ſortes of people, but alſo for th[e] aduauncement of your ſelf to a much welthier ſtate, and condition, then you be nowe in.

To a welthier condition (quod Raphael) by that meanes, that my mynde ſtandeth cleane agaynſt? Now I lyue at libertie after myne owne mynde and pleaſure, whiche I thynke verye fewe of theſe great ſtates, and pieres of realmes can ſaye. Yea, and there be ynow of them that ſue for great mens frendeſhippes: and therfore thinke it no great hurte, if they haue not me, nor. iii. or. iiii. ſuche other as I am.

Well, I perceiue playnly frende Raphael (quod I) that you be deſirous neither of richeſſe, nor of power. And truly I haue in no leſſe reuerence and eſtimation a man of your mynde, then anye of theim all that bee ſo high in power and authoritie. But you ſhall doo as it becometh you: yea, and accordyng to this wiſdome, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can finde in your herte ſo to appoynt and diſpoſe your ſelfe, that you mai applye your witte and diligence to the profite of the weale publique, thoughe it be ſomewhat to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And this ſhall you neuer ſo wel doe, nor wyth ſo greate proffitte perfourme, as yf you be of ſome greate princes counſel, and put into his heade (as I doubte not but you wyl) honeſte opinions, and vertuous perſuaſions. For from the prince, as from a perpetual wel ſprynge, commethe amonge the people the floode of al that is good or euell. But in you is ſo perfitte lernynge, that wythoute anye experience, and agayne ſo greate experience, that wythoute anye lernyng: you maye well be any kinges counſellour.

You be twyſe deceaued maiſter More (quod he) fyrſte in me, and agayne in the thinge it ſelfe. For neither is in

me the habilitye that you force vpon me, and yf it wer neuer ſo much, yet in diſquieting myne owne quietnes I ſhould nothing further the weale publique. For firſt of all, the moſte parte of all princes haue more delyte in warlike matters, and feates of chiualrie (ye knowlege wherof I neither haue nor deſire) than in the good feates of peace: and employe muche more ſtudy, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe wel, and peaceablie to rule, and gouerne that they haue alredie. Moreouer, they that be counſellours to kinges, euery one of them eyther is of him ſelfe ſo wiſe in dede, that he nedeth not, or elles he thinketh himſelf ſo wiſe, yat he wil not allowe an other mans counſel, ſauing that they do ſhamefully, and flatteringly geue aſſent to the fond and foliſhe ſayinges of certeyn great men. Whoſe fauours, bicauſe they be in high authoritie with their prince, by aſſentation and flatterie they labour to obteyne. And verily it is naturally geuen to all men to eſteme their owne inuentions beſt. So both the Rauen and the Ape thincke their owne yonge ones faireſt. Than if a man in ſuch a company, where ſome diſdayne and haue deſpite at other mens inuentions, and ſome counte their owne beſt, if among ſuche menne (I ſay) a man ſhould bringe furth any thinge, that he hath redde done in tymes paſte, or that he hath ſene done in other places: there the hearers, fare as though the whole exiſtimation of their wiſdome were in ieoperdye to be ouerthrowen, and that euer after thei ſhoulde be counted for verye diſerdes, vnles they could in other mens inuentions pycke out matter to reprehend, and find fault at.

If all other poore helpes fayle: then this is their extreame refuge. Theſe thinges (ſay they) pleaſed our forefathers and aunceſtours: wolde God we coulde be ſo wiſe as thei were: and as though thei had wittely concluded the matter, and with this anſwere ſtopped euery mans mouth, thei ſitte downe againe. As who ſhould ſai, it were a very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe ſhould be founde wiſer, then his forefathers were. And yet bee we content to ſuffre the

Triptakers.

beſt and wittieſt of their decrees to lye vnexecuted: but if in any thing a better ordre might haue ben taken, then by them was, there we take faſt hold, findyng therin many faultes. Manye tymes haue I chaunced vpon ſuch proude, leude, ouerthwarte, and waywarde iudgementes, yea, and once in England:

Parcial iudgementes.

I prai you Syr (quod I) haue you ben in our countrey?

Yea forſoth (quod he) and there I taried for the ſpace of. iiii. or. v. monethes together, not longe after the inſurrection, yat the Weſterne Engliſh men made agaynſt their Kyng, which by their owne miſerable and pitiful ſlaughter was ſuppreſſed and ended. In the meane ſeaſon I was muche bounde and beholdynge to the righte reuerende father, Ihon Morton, Archebiſhop and Cardinal of Canterbury, and at that time alſo lorde Chauncelloure of Englande: a man Mayſter Peter (for Mayſter More knoweth already that I wyll ſaye) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane ſtature, and though ſtricken in age, yet bare he his bodye vpright. In his face did ſhine ſuch an amiable reuerence, as was pleaſaunte to beholde, Gentill in communication, yet earneſt, and ſage. He had great delite manye times with roughe ſpeache to his ſewters, to proue, but withoute harme, what prompte witte, and what bolde ſpirite were in euery man. In the which as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, ſo that therewith were not ioyned impudency, he toke greate delectatyon. And the ſame perſon, as apte and mete to haue an adminiſtratyon in the weale publique, he dyd louingly embrace. In his ſpeche he was fyne, eloquent, and pytthye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderfull excellente. Theſe qualityes, which in hym were by nature ſingular, he by learnynge and vſe had made perfecte. The Kynge put muche truſte in his counſel, the weale publyque alſo in a maner leaned vnto hym, when I was there. For euen in the chiefe of his youth he was taken from ſchole into the Courte, and there paſſed

Cardinall Morton.

all his tyme in much trouble and buſines, beyng continually tumbled and toſſed in the waues of dyuers mysfortunes and aduerſities. And ſo by many and greate daungers he lerned the experience of the worlde, whiche ſo beinge learned can not eaſely be forgotten. It chaunced on a certayne daye, when I ſate at his table, there was alſo a certayne laye man cunnynge in the lawes of youre Realme. Who, I can not tell wherof takynge occaſion, began diligently and earneſtly to prayſe that ſtrayte and rygorous iuſtice, which at that tyme was there executed vpon fellones, who as he ſayde, were for the moſt parte. xx. hanged together vpon one gallowes. And, ſeyng ſo fewe eſcaped punyſhement, he ſayde he coulde not chuſe, but greatly wonder and maruel, howe and by what euil lucke it ſhold ſo come to paſſe, that theues neuertheles were in euery place ſo ryffe and ſo rancke. Naye Syr quod I (for I durſt boldely ſpeake my minde before the Cardinal) maruel nothinge here at: for this punyſhment of theues paſſeth the limites of Iuſtice, and is alſo very hurtefull to the weale publique. For it is to extreame and cruel a puniſhment for theſte, and yet not ſufficient to refrayne and withhold men from theſte. For ſimple theſte is not ſo great an offenſe, that it owght to be puniſhed with death Neither ther is any puniſhment ſo horrible, that it can kepe them from ſtealynge, which haue no other craft, wherby to get their liuing. Therfore in this poynte, not you onlye, but alſo the moſt part of the world, be like euyll ſcholemaiſters, which be readyer to beate, then to teache, their ſcholers. For great and horrible puniſhmentes be appointed for theues. whereas much rather prouiſion ſhould haue ben made, that there were ſome meanes, whereby they myght get their liuyng, ſo that no man ſhoulde be dryuen to this extreme neceſſitie. firſte to ſteale, and then to dye. Yes (quod he) this matter is wel ynough prouided for already. There be handy craftes, there is huſbandrye to gette their *liuynge by, if they* would not willingly be nought.

Of lawes not made according to equitie.

By what meanes ther might be fewer theues and robbers.

Nay, quod I, you ſhall not ſkape ſo: for firſt of all, I wyll ſpeake nothynge of them, that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not longe a go, oute of Blacke heath fielde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in Fraunce: ſuche, I ſaye, as put their liues in ieoperdye for the weale publiques or the kynges ſake, and by reaſon of weakeneſſe and lameneſſe be not hable to occupye their olde craftes, and be to aged to lerne new: of them I wyll ſpeake nothing, foraſmuch as warres haue their ordinarie recourſe. But let vs conſidre thoſe thinges that chaunce daily before our eyes. Firſt there is a great numbre of gentlemen, which can not be content to liue idle themſelfes, lyke dorres, of yat whiche other haue laboured for: their tenauntes I meane, whom they polle and ſhaue to the quicke, by reiſyng their rentes (for this onlye poynte of frugalitie do they vſe, men els through their lauaſſe and prodigall ſpendynge, hable to brynge theymſelfes to verye beggerye) theſe gentlemen, I ſay, do not only liue in idleneſſe themſelfes, but alſo carrye about with them at their tailes a great flocke or traine of idle and loyterynge ſeruyngmen, which neuer learned any craft wherby to gette their liuynges. Theſe men as ſone as their mayſter is dead, or be ſicke themſelfes, be incontinent thruſt out of dores. For gentlemen hadde rather keepe idle perſones, then ſicke men, and many times the dead mans heyre is not hable to mainteine ſo great a houſe, and kepe ſo many ſeruing men as his father dyd. Then in the meane ſeaſon they that be thus deſtitute of ſeruice, either ſtarue for honger, or manfullye playe the theues. For what would you haue them to do? When they haue wandred abrode ſo longe, vntyl they haue worne threde bare their apparell, and alſo appaired their helth, then gentlemen becauſe of their pale and ſickely faces, and patched cotes, wil not take them into ſeruice. And huſbandmen dare not ſet them a worke: Knowynge wel ynoughe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and

Idlenesse the mother of theues.

Landlordes by the wai checked for Rentraisyng.

Of Idle seruyng men come theues.

ſaythful ſeruice to a poore man wyth a ſpade and a mattoke for ſmall wages and hard fare, whyche beynge deyntely and tenderly pampered vp in ydilnes and pleaſure, was wont with a ſworde and a buckler by hys ſyde to iette through the ſtrete with a bragginge loke, and to thynke hym ſelfe to good to be anye mans mate. Naye by ſaynt Mary ſir (quod the lawier) not ſo. For this kinde of men muſte we make moſte of. For in them as men of ſtowter ſtomackes, bolder ſpirites, and manlyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be, doth conſiſte the whole powre, ſtrength, and puiſſaunce of oure army, when we muſte fight in battayle. Forſothe ſir aſwell you myghte ſaye (quod I) yat for warres ſake you muſte cheryſhe theues. For ſuerly you ſhall neuer lacke theues, whyles you haue them. No nor theues be not the moſt falſe and faynt harted ſoldiers, nor ſouldiours be not the cowardleſte theues: ſo wel thees. ii. craftes agree together. But this faulte, though it be much vſed amonge you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but commen alſo almoſte to all nations. Yet Fraunce beſides this is troubled and infected with a much ſorer plage. The whole royalme is fylled and beſieged with hiered ſouldiours in peace tyme (yf that bee peace) whyche be brought in vnder the ſame colour and pretenſe, that hath perſuaded you to kepe theſe ydell ſeruynge men. For thies wyſefooles and verye archedoltes thought the wealthe of the whole countrey herin to conſiſt, if there were euer in a redineſſe a ſtronge and ſure garriſon, ſpecially of old practiſed ſouldiours, for they put no truſt at all in men vnexerciſed. And therfore they muſt be forced to ſeke for warre, to the ende thei may euer haue practiſed ſouldiours, and cunnyng manſleiers, leſt that (as it is pretely ſayde of Saluſt) their handes and their mindes through idlenes or lacke of exercife, ſhould waxe dul. But howe pernitious and peſtilenet a thyng it is to maintayne ſuche beaſtes, the Frenche men, by their owne harmes haue learned, and the examples of the *Romaynes*, Carthaginiens, Syriens, and of many

Betwene ſoldiers and theues smal diverſitie.

ye other countreyes doo manifeſtly declare. For not onlye the Empire, but alſo the fieldes and Cities of all theſe, by diuers occaſions haue been ouerrunned and deſtroyed of their owne armies before hande had in a redineſſe. Now how vnneceſſary a thinge this is, hereby it maye appeare: that the Frenche ſouldiours, which from their youth haue ben practiſed and inured in feates of armes, do not cracke nor aduaunce themſelfes to haue very often gotte the vpper hand and maiſtry of your new made and vnpractiſed ſouldiours. But in this poynte I wyll not vſe many woordes, leſte perchaunce I maye ſeeme to flatter you. No nor thoſe ſame handy craſte men of yours in Cities, nor yet the rude and vplandiſh plowmen of the countreye, are not ſuppoſed to be greatly affrayde of your gentlemens idle ſeruyngmen, vnleſſe it be ſuche as be not of body or ſtature correſpondent to their ſtrength and courage, orels whoſe bolde ſtomakes be diſcouraged throughe pouertie. Thus you may ſee, that it is not to be feared leſt they ſhoulde be effeminated, if thei were brought vp in good craſtes and labourſome woorkes, whereby to gette their liuynges, whoſe ſtoute and ſturdye bodyes (for gentlemen vouchſafe to corrupte and ſpill none but picked and choſen men) now either by reaſon of reſt and idleneſſe be brought to weakeneſſe: orels by eaſy and womanly exerciſes be made feble, and vnhable to endure hardneſſe. Truly howe ſo euer the caſe ſtandeth, thys me thinketh is nothing auayeable to the weale publique, for warre ſake, which you neuer haue, but when you wyl your ſelfes, to keepe and mainteyn an vnnumerable flocke of that ſort of men, that be ſo troubleſome and noyous in peace. Wherof you ought to haue a thowſand times more regarde, then of warre. But yet this is not only the neceſſary cauſe of ſtealing. There is an other, whych, as I ſuppoſe, is p[ro]per and peculiar to you Engliſhmen alone. What is *that, quod* the Cardinal? forſoth my lorde (quod I) *your ſhepe* that were wont to be ſo meke and tame, and

What inconueniences cometh by continuall garisons of souldiours.

ſo ſmal eaters, now, as I heare ſaye, be become ſo great deuowerers and ſo wylde, that they eate vp, and ſwallow downe the very men them ſelſes. They conſume, deſtroye, and deuoure whole fieldes, howſes, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fyneſt, and therfore deareſt woll, there noble men, and gentlemen: yea and certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them ſelſes with the yearely reuenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predeceſſours of their landes, nor beynge content that they liue in reſt and pleaſure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique: leaue no grounde for tillage, thei incloſe al into paſtures: thei throw doune houſes: they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothing ſtandynge, but only the churche to be made a ſhepehowſe. And as thoughe you loſte no ſmall quantity of grounde by foreſtes, chaſes, laundes, and parkes, thoſe good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into deſolation and wildernes. Therfore that on couetous and vnſatiable cormaraunte and very plage of his natyue contrey maye compaſſe aboute and incloſe many thouſand akers of grounde to gether within one pale or hedge, the huſbandmen be thruſt owte of their owne, or els either by coueyne and fraude, or by violent oppreſſion they be put beſydes it, or by wronges and iniuries thei be ſo wered, that they be compelled to ſell all: by one meanes therfore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muſte needes departe awaye, poore, ſelye, wretched ſoules, men, women, huſbands, wiues, fatherleſſe children, widowes, wofull mothers, with their yonge babes, and their whole houſhold ſmal in ſubſtance, and muche in numbre, as husbandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I ſay, out of their knowen and accuſtomed houſes, fyndynge no place to reſte in. All their houſholdeſtuffe, whiche is verye litle woorthe, thoughe it myght well abide the ſale: *yet beeynge* ſodainely thruſte oute, they be com-

English shepe devourers of men.

Shepe maisters deceyuers of husbandrye.

The decaye of husbandry cauſeth beggery, which is the mother of vagaboundes and theues.

ſtrayned to ſell it for a thing of nought. And when they haue wandered abrode tyll that be ſpent, what can they then els doo but ſteale, and then iuſtly pardy be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then alſo they be caſte in priſon as vagaboundes, becauſe they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl ſet a worke, though thei neuer ſo willyngly profre themſelues therto. For one Shephearde or Heardman is ynoughe to eate vp that grounde with cattel, to the occupiyng wherof aboute huſbandrye manye handes were requiſite. And this is alſo the cauſe why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, beſides this the price of wolle is ſo ryſen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be forced to forſake worke, and to geue themſelues to idelneſſe. For after that ſo much grounde was incloſed for paſture, an infinite multitude of ſhepe dyed of the rotte, ſuche vengeaunce God toke of their inordinate and vnſaciable couetouſnes, ſendinge amonge the ſhepe that peſtiferous morrein, whiche much more iuſtely ſhoulde haue fallen on the ſhepemaſters owne heades. And though the number of ſhepe increaſe neuer ſo faſte, yet the price falleth not one myte, becauſe there be ſo fewe ſellers. For they be almooſte all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to ſell before they luſt, and they luſte not before they maye ſell as deare as they luſte. Now the ſame cauſe bringeth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattell, yea and that ſo much ye more, bicauſe that after fermes plucked downe, and huſbandry decaied, there is no man that paſſethe for the breadynge of younge ſtoore. For theſe riche men brynge not vp the yonge ones of greate cattel *as they do* lambes. But firſt they bie them abrode verie *chepe,* and afterward when they be fatted in their paſ-

The cause of dearth of victuales.

What inconuenience commeth of dearth of wolle.

The cause of dearth of wol.

Dearth of cattel with the cause therof.

tures, they ſell them agayne excedynge deare. And therefore (as I ſuppoſe) the whole incommoditie hereof is not yet felte. For yet they make dearth onely in thoſe places, where they ſell. But when they ſhall fetche them away from thence wheare they be bredde faſter then they can be broughte vp: then ſhall there alſo be felte greate dearth, ſtoore beginning there to faile, where the ware is boughte. Thus the vnreaſonable couetouſnes of a few hath turned yat thing to the vtter vndoing of your ylande, in the whiche thynge the cheife felicitie of your realme did conſiſt. For this greate dearth of victualles cauſeth men to kepe as litle houſes, and as ſmale hoſpitalitie as they poſſible maye, and to put away their ſeruauntes: whether, I pray you, but a beggynge: or elles (whyche theſe gentell bloudes, and ſtoute ſtomackes, wyll ſooner ſet their myndes vnto) a ſtealing? Nowe to amende the matter, to this wretched beggerye, and miſerable pouertie is ioyned greate wantonnes, importunate ſuperfluitie, and exceſſiue riote. For not only gentle mennes ſeruauntes, but alſo handicrafe men: yea and almooſte the ploughmen of the countrey, with al other ſortes of people, vſe muche ſtraunge and proude newefanglenes in their apparell, and to muche prodigall riotte, and ſumptuous fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines, whoores, harlottes, ſtrumpettes, brothelhouſes, ſtewes, and yet an other ſtewes wynetauernes, ale houſes, and tiplinge houſes, with ſo manye noughtie, lewde, and vnlawfull games, as dyce, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes, do not all theſe ſende the haunters of them ſtreyghte a ſtealynge when theyr money is gone? Caſte oute theſe pernicyous abhominations, make a lawe, that they, whiche plucked downe fermes, and townes of huſbandrie, ſhal reedifie them, or els yelde, and vprender the poſſeſſion therof to ſuche, as wil go to the *coſt of buylding* them anewe. Suffer not theſe riche men

Dearth of victuales is the decay of house keping; whereof ensueth beggery and theſte.

Excesse in apparell and diet a mainteiner of beggery and theſte.

Baudes, whores, winetauernes, alehouses, and vnlawfull games be very mothers of theues.

to bie vp al, to ingroſſe, and forſtalle, and with their monopolie to kepe the market alone as pleaſe them. Let not ſo many be brought vp in idelnes, let huſbandry and tillage be reſtored, let clothe-worke be renewed, that ther may be honeſt labours for this idell ſort to paſſe their tyme in profitablye, whiche hitherto either pouertie hath cauſed to be theues, or elles nowe be either vagabondes, or idel ſeruing men, and ſhortelye wilbe theues. Doubtles onles you finde a remedy for theſe enormities, you ſhall in vaine aduaunce your ſelues of executing iuſtice vpon fellons. For this iuſtice is more beautiful in apperaunce, and more floriſhynge to the ſhewe, then either iuſte or profitable. For by ſuffring your youthe wantonlie, and viciouſly to be brought vp, and to be infected, euen frome theyr tender age, by litle and litle with vice: then a goddes name to be puniſhed, when they commit the ſame faultes after being come to mans ſtate, which from their youthe they were euer like to do: In this pointe, I praye you, what other thing do you, then make theues, and then puniſh them? Now as I was thus ſpeakinge, the Lawier began to make hym ſelfe readie to anſwere, and was determined with him ſelfe to vſe the common faſhion, and trade of diſputers, whiche be more diligent in reherſinge, then anſwering, as thinking the memorie worthy of the chief praiſe. In dede ſir, quod he, you haue ſaid wel, being but a ſtraunger, and one that myghte rather heare ſome thing of theſe matters, then haue any exacte or perfecte knowledge of the ſame, as I wil incontinent by open proffe make manifeſt and plaine. For firſte I will reherſe in order all that you haue ſayde: then I wyll declare wherein you be deceaued, through lacke of knowledge, in all oure faſhions, maners and cuſtomes: and laſt of all I will aunſwere youre argumentes, and confute them euery one. Firſte therefore I *wyll* begynne where I promyſed. Foure thynges you ſemed to me. Holde youre peace, quod the Car-

Rich men ingrossers and forestallers.

The corrupte education of youth a mother of theuery.

dinall: for it appeareth that you will make no ſhorte aunſwere, which make ſuche a beginnynge. Wherefore at this time you ſhall not take the paynes to make youre aun[ſ]were, but kepe it to youre nexte meatynge, which I woulde be righte glad, that it might be euen to morrowe next, onles either you or mayſter Raphael haue any earneſt let. But nowe mayſter Raphael, I woulde verye gladlye heare of you, why you thinke theſte not worthye to be puniſhed with deathe, or what other puniſhemente you can deuiſe more expedient to the weale publique. For I am ſure you are not of that minde, that you woulde haue theſte eſcape vnpuniſhed. For yf nowe the extreme puniſhemente of deathe can not cauſe them to leaue ſtealinge, then yf ruffians and robbers ſhoulde be ſuer of their lyues: what violence, what feare were hable to holde their handes from robbinge, whiche woulde take the mitigation of the puniſhmente, as a a verye prouocation to the miſchiefe? Suerlye my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not ryght nor iuſtice, that ye loſſe of money ſhould cauſe the loſſe of mans life. For myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are not hable to counteruayle mans life. But if they would thus ſay: that the breakynge of iuſtice, and the tranſgreſſion of the lawes is recompenſed with this puniſhment, and not the loſſe of the money, then why maye not this extreme and rigorous iuſtice wel be called plaine iniurie? For ſo cruell gouernaunce, ſo ſtreite rules, and vnmercyful lawes be not allowable, that if a ſmall offenſe be committed, by and by the ſword ſhould be drawen: Nor ſo floical ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as to counte al offenſes of ſuche equalitie, that the killing of a man, or the takyng of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offenſe then the other: betwene the whyche two, yf we haue anye reſpecte to equitie, no ſimilitude or equalitie conſiſteth. God commaundeth vs that we ſhall not kill. And be we

He is worthelie put to ſilence that is to full of wordes.

That theſte ought not to be puniſhed by death.

Straite lawes not allowable.

then ſo haſtie to kill a man for takinge a litle money? And if any man woulde vnderſtande killing by this commaundement of God, to be forbidden after no larger wiſe, then mans conſtitutions define killynge to be lawfull, then whye maye it not lykewiſe by mans conſtitutions be determined after what ſort whordome, fornication, and periurie may be lawfull? For where as by the permiſſion of God, no man hath power to kil neither himſelf, nor yet anye other man: then yf a lawe made by the conſent of men, concerninge ſlaughter of men: oughte to be of ſuche ſtrengthe, force, and vertue, that they which contrarie to the commaundement of God haue killed thoſe, whom this conſtitution of man commaunded to be killed, be cleane quite and exempte out of the bondes and daunger to Gods commaundement: ſhall it not then by this reaſon follow, that the power of Gods commaundemente ſhall extende no further, then mans lawe doeth define, and permitte? And ſo ſhall it come to paſſe, that in like maner mans conſtitutions in al thinges ſhal determine how farre the obſeruation of all Gods commaundementes ſhall extende. To be ſhorte Moyſes law, though it were vngentle and ſharpe, as a law that was geuen to bondmen, yea; and them very obſtinate, ſtubborne, and ſtyfnecked: yet it puniſhed theſte by the purſe, and not wyth death. And let vs not thinke that God in the newe law of clemencie and mercye, vnder the whiche he ruleth vs with fatherlie gentlenes, as his deare children hathe geuen vs greater ſcoupe and licence to the execution of cruelte, one vpon another. Nowe ye haue heard the reaſons whereby, I am perſuaded that this puniſhement is vnlawful. Furthermore I thinke ther is no body that knoweth not, how vnreaſonable, yea: how pernitious a thinge it is to the weale publike, that a theſe and an homicide or murderer, ſhoulde ſuffer *equall* and like puniſhment. For the theſe ſeynge that

That mans law ought not to be preiudicial to gods law.

Theſte in the olde lawe not punished by death.

What inconuenience ensueth of punishynge theft with death.

man, that is condempned for theſte in no leſſe ieoperdie, nor iudged to no leſſe puniſhment, then him that is conuicte of manſlaughter: throughe this cogitation onelye he is ſtrongly and forciblye prouoked, and in a maner conſtreined to kill him, whome els he woulde haue but robbed. For the murder beynge ones done, he is in leſſe feare, and in more hoope that the deede ſhall not be bewrayed or knowen, ſeynge the partye is nowe deade, and rydde oute of the waye, which onelye mighte haue vttered and diſcloſed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and diſcriued: yet he is in no more daunger and ieoperdie, then if he had committed but ſingle fellonye. Therfore whiles we go about with ſuche crueltie to make theues aferd, we prouoke them to kil good men. Now as touchinge this queſtion, what puniſhemente were more commodious and better: that truelye in my iudgemente is eaſier to be founde, then what puniſhment might be wurſe. For why ſhould we doubt that to be a good and a profytable waye for the puniſhemente of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes paſte ſo longe pleaſe the Romaines, men in the adminiſtration of a weale publique mooſte experte, politique, and cunnynge? Suche as amonge them were conuicte of great and heynous treſpaces, them they condempned into ſtone quarries, and into mienes to digge mettalle, there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of their life. But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation ſo wel as yat which I ſawe, whiles I trauailed abroade aboute the worlde, vſed in Perſia amonge the people that commenly be called the Polylerites. Whoſe land is both large and ample, and alſo well and wittelye gouerned: and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their owne lawes, ſauinge that they paye a yearelye tribute to the great king of Perſia. But bicauſe they be farre from the ſea, compaſſed and *incloſed, almoſte* rounde aboute with hyghe moun-

Punishing of theft by deathe causeth the thefe to be a murtherer.

What lawfull punishment may be deuised for theft.

Howe the Romayns punished theefte.

A worthy and commendable punishment of theues in the weale publique of the Polylerites in Persia.

taines, and do content them ſelues with the fruites of their owne lande, whiche is of it ſelfe verye fertile and frutfull: for this cauſe neither they go to other countreis, nor other come to them. And accordynge to the olde cuſtome of the land, they deſire not to enlarge the boundes of their dominions: and thoſe that they haue by reaſon of the highe hilles be eaſely defended: and the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and kinge, ſetteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallante, and may better be called happie: or welthy, then notable or famous. For they be not knowen aſmuch, as by name, I ſuppoſe ſauing only to theyr next neighbours and borderes. They that in this lande be atteinted and conuict of felony, make reſtitution of that which they ſtole, to the righte owner: and not (as they do in other landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke to haue no more righte to the thiefeſtolen thinge, then the thiefe him ſelfe hathe. But if the thing be loſte or made away, then the value of it is paide of the gooddes of ſuch offenders, which els remaineth all whole to their wiues, and children. And they them ſelues be condempned to be common laborers, and, oneles the theſte be verie heinous, they be neyther locked in priſon, nor fettered in giues, but be vntied and go at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuſe labour, or go ſlowly and ſlacklye to their worke, be not onelye tied in cheynes, but alſo pricked forward with ſtripes. But beinge diligente aboute theyr worke they liue without checke or rebuke. Euery night they be called in by name: and be locked in theyr chambers. Beſide their dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the weale publike, bicauſe they be commen ſeruauntes to the commen wealth. But their charges in all places of the lande is not borne alike. For in ſome *partes* that which is beſtowed vpon them is gathered *in almes.* And thoughe that waye be vncertein, yet

A priuie nippe for them that do otherwise.

Theues condempned to be commen labourers.

the people be ſo ful of mercy and pitie, that none is found more profitable or plentifull. In ſome places certein landes be appointed hereunto: of the reuenewes whereof they be mainteined. And in ſome places euerye man geueth a certein tribute for ye ſame vſe and purpoſe. Againe in ſome partes of the land theſe ſeruing men (for ſo be theſe dampned perſons called) do no common worke, but as euerye priuate man nedeth laborours, so he commeth into the markette place, and there hierethe ſome of them for meate and drinke, and a certeine limitted waiges by the daye, ſumwhat cheper then he ſhoulde hire a free man. It is alſo lawefull for them to chaſtice the ſlouthe of theſe ſeruinge men with ſtripes. By this meanes they neuer lacke worke, and beſides the gayninge of their meate and drinke, euerye one of them bringeth dailie ſome thing into the common treaſourie. All and euery one of them be apparailed in one coloure. Their heades be not polled or ſhauen, but rounded a lytle aboue the eares. And the typpe of the one eare is cut of. Euery one of them maye take meate and drinke of their frendes, and alſo a coate of their owne colloure: but to receiue money is deathe, aſwell to the geuer, as to the receiuoure. And no leſſe ieoperdie it is for a free man to receiue moneye of a ſeruynge manne for anye maner of cauſe: and lykewiſe for ſeruinge men to touche weapons. The ſeruinge men of euerye ſeuerall ſhire be diſtincte and knowen frome other by their ſeuerall and diſtincte badges: whiche to caſte awaye is death: as it is alſo to be ſene oute of the precincte of their owne ſhire, or to talke with a ſeruinge man of another ſhyre. And it is leſſe daunger to them, for to intende to runne awaye, then to do it in dede. Yea and to conceal ſuche an enterpries in a ſeruinge man it is deathe, in a free man ſeruitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth and vttereth ſuche counſelles, be decreed large giftes: to a free man a great ſome of money, to a ſeruing man freedome.

Seruing men.

An euell intent eſteemed as the deede.

and to them bothe forgeuenes and pardone of that they were of counſell in that pretence. So that it can neuer be ſo good for them to go forewarde in their euyll purpoſe, as by repentaunce to tourne backe. This is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I haue ſhewed you. Wherein what humanitie is vſed, howe farre it is frome cruelſtie, and howe commodyous it is, you do playnelye perceaue: For aſmuche as the ende of their wrath and punyſhemente intendeth nothynge elles, but the deſtruction of vices, and ſauynge of menne: wyth ſo vſynge, and ordering them, that they can not chuſe but be good, and what harme ſo euer they did before, in the reſidewe of theyr life to make amendes for the ſame. Moreouer it is ſo litle feared, that they ſhoulde tourne againe to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men wyl for their ſauegarde chuſe them to theyr guydes before any other, in euery ſheir chaunging and taking new. For if they would committe robbery, they haue nothinge aboute them meate for that purpoſe. They may touch no weapons: money founde aboute them ſhoulde betraie the robbery. They ſhoulde be no ſooner taken with the maner, but furthwith they ſhoulde be puniſhed. Neither they can haue any hope at all to ſkape awaye by flienge. For howe ſhould a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, flye preuelie and vnknowen, onles he woulde runne awaye naked? Howebeit ſo alſo flyinge he ſhoulde be diſcriued by the roundyng of his heade, and his eare marke. But it is a thinge to be doubted, that they will laye theyr heddes together, and conſpire againſte the weale publique. No no I warrante you. For the ſeruyng men of one ſheire alone coulde neuer hoope to bringe to paſſe ſuche an enterpriſe, without ſollicitinge, entyſinge, and allurynge the ſeruinge men of manye other ſhieres to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them ſo impoſſible, that they maye not aſmuche as ſpeake or talke togethers, or ſalute one an other. No it is not to be thoughte that they woulde

The right end and intent of punishement.

make theyr owne countreymen and companions of their counſell in ſuche a matter, whiche they knowe well ſhould be ieopardie to the concelour thereof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener and detectour of the ſame. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or in diſpaire to recouer againe his former eſtate of fredome, by humble obedience, by paciente ſuffringe, and by geuing good tokens and likelyhoode of himſelfe, that he wyll euer after that, lyue like a trewe, and an honeſt man. For euerye yeare diuers of them be reſtored to their freedome: throughe the commendation of their patience. Whan I had thus ſpoken, ſayinge moreouer that I coulde ſee no cauſe why this ordre might not be had in Englande with muche more profyte, then the Iuſtice whiche the lawyer ſo heighly prayſed: Naye, quod the lawier, this coulde neuer be ſo ſtablyſhed in Englande, but that it muſt nedes bringe the weale publike into great ieoperdie and hafarde. And as he was thus ſayinge, he ſhaked his heade, and made a wrie mouthe, and ſo he helde his peace. And all that were there preſent, with one aſſent agreed to his ſayinge. Well, quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to iudge withoute a proffe, whether this order would do wel here or no. But when the ſentence of death is geuen, if than the kinge ſhoulde commaunde execution to be defferred and ſpared, and would proue this order and faſſion: takinge awaye the priuiliges of all ſaintuaries: if then the profe ſhoulde declare the thinge to be good and profitable, than it were wel done that it were ſtabliſhed: Els the condempned and repriued perſons may aſwel and as iuſtly be put to death after this profe, as when they were firſt caſt. Neither any ieoperdie can in the meane ſpace growe herof. Yea, and me thynketh that theſe vagaboundes may very wel be ordered after the ſame faſhion, againſt whom we haue hitherto made ſo many lawes, and ſo litle preuailed. When the Cardinall had thus ſaide, than euery man gaue greate praiſe

Vagaboundes.

to my ſayinges, whiche a litle before they had disallowed. But mooſt of al was eſtemed that which was ſpoken of vagaboundes, bicauſe it was the cardinalles owne addition. I can not tell whether it were beſt to reherſe the communication that folowed, for it was not very ſad. But yet you ſhall heare it, for there was no euil in it, and partlye it parteined to the matter before ſaide. There chaunced to ſtand by a certein ieſting paraſite, or ſcoffer, which wold ſeme to reſemble and counterfeit ye foole. But he did in ſuche wiſe counterfeit, that he was almoſt ye verye ſame in dede that he labored to repreſent: he ſo ſtudied with wordes and ſayinges brought furth ſo out of time and place to make ſporte and moue laughter, that he himſelfe was oftener laughed at then his ieſtes were. Yet the fooliſhe fellowe brought out now and then ſuch indifferent and reaſonable ſtuffe, that he made the prouerbe true, which ſaieth: he that ſhoteth oft, at the laſt ſhal hit the mark. So that when one of the company ſayd, that throughe my communication a good order was founde for theues, and that the Cardinal alſo had wel prouided for vagaboundes, ſo that only remained ſome good prouiſion to be made for them that through ſickneſ and age were fallen into pouertie, and were become ſo impotent and vnweldie, that they were not hable to worke for their liuinge: Tuſhe (quod he) let me alone with them: you ſhall ſe me do well ynough with them. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde of people were driuen ſumwher oute of my ſight, they haue ſo ſore troubled me manye times and ofte, when they haue wyth their lamentable teares begged money of me: and yet they coulde neuer to my mynde ſo tune their ſonge, that thereby they euer got of me one farthinge. For euer more the one of theſe two chaunced: either that I would not, or els that I could not, bicauſe I had it not. Therfore now they be waxed wiſe. For when they ſee me go by, bicauſe they will not leeſe theyr labour, they let me paſſe and ſaye not one worde.

The wauering iudgementes of flatterers.

Sicke, aged, impotent perſons and beggers.

to me. So they loke for nothinge of me, no in good ſothe no more, then yf I were a prieſt, or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all theſe beggers ſhall be diſtributed, and beſtowed into houſes of religion. The men ſhalbe made laye brethren, as they call them, and the women nunnes. Hereat the Cardinal ſmiled, and allowed it in ieſt, yea and all the reſidue in good earneſt. But a certeine freare graduate in diuinitie, toke ſuche pleaſure and delite in this ieſte of prieſtes and monkes, that he alſo beynge elles a man of griſlie and ſterne grauitie, began merilie and wantonlye to ieſte and taunt. Naye, quod he, you ſhall not ſo be ridde and diſpatched of beggers, oneles you make ſome prouiſion alſo for vs frears. Why, quod the ieſter, that is done alreadie, for my lord him ſelfe ſet a verye good order for you, when he decreed that vagaboundes ſhould be kept ſtraite, and ſet to worke: for you be the greateſt and verieſt vagaboundes that be. This ieſt alſo, when they ſawe the Cardinall not diſproue it, every man toke it gladly, ſauyng onelye the Frear. For he (and that no marueile) beynge thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, ſo fret, ſo fumed, and chafed at it, and was in ſuch a rage, that he could not refraine himſelfe from chidinge, ſkolding, railing, and reuiling. He called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, iauel, backbiter, ſclaunderer, and the childe of perdition: citinge therwith terrible threateninges out of holie Scripture. Then the ieſtynge ſcoffer beganne to playe the ſcoffer in dede, and verely he was good at yt, for he could play a part in that play no man better. Patient youre ſelfe good maiſter Freare, quod he, and be not angrie, for ſcripture ſaieth: in youre patience you ſhall ſaue your ſoules. Then the Freare (for I will rehearſe his own very woordes) No gallous wretche, I am not angrie (quod he) or at the leaſte wiſe, I do not ſinne: for the Pſalmiſte ſaith, be you angrie, and ſinne not. Then the Cardinal ſpake *gently to the freare*, and deſired him to quiete him-

A common prouerbe amonge beggers.

A merye talke betweene a Frere and a foole.

Talke qualified according to the person that speaketh.

ſelfe. No my lord, quod he, I ſpeak not but of a good zeale as I oughte: for holye men had a good zeale. Wherefore it is ſayd: the zeale of thy houſe hath eaten me. And it is ſonge in the church The ſkorners of Helizeus, whiles he went vp into the houſe of God, felte the zeale of the bald, as peraduenture this ſkorning villaine ribaulde shall feele. You do it (quod the Cardinall) perchaunce of a good mynde and affection: but me thinketh you ſhould do, I can not tell whether more holilie, certes more wiſely, yf you woulde not ſet youre witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole take in hande a fooliſhe contention. No forſoeth my lorde (quod he) I ſhoulde not do more wyſelye. For Salomon the wyſe ſaieth: Anſwere a foole accordinge to his folye, like as I do nowe, and do ſhew him the pit that he ſhall fall into, yf he take not hede. For if many ſkorners of Helizeus, whiche was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how muche more ſhall one ſkorner of many frears feele, amonge whom be manye balde men? And we haue alſo the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and ſkorne vs be excommunicate, ſuſpended, and acurſed. The cardinal, ſeing that none ende would be made, ſent awaie the ieſter by a preuy becke, and turned the communication to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was riſen from the table, he went to heare his ſueters, and ſo dimiſſed vs. Looke maiſter More wyth how longe and tedious a tale I haue kept you, which ſurely I woulde haue bene aſhamed to haue done, but that you ſo earneſtly deſired me, and did after ſuch a ſorte geue eare vnto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication ſhould be leſt out. Whiche thoughe I haue done ſumwhat briefely, yet could I not chuſe but rehearſe it, for the iudgemente of them, whyche when they had improued and diſallowed my ſayinges, yet incontinent hearynge the Cardinall allowe them, dyd themſelues alſo approue the ſame: ſo impudently flattering him, that they wer nothing aſhamed to admitte, yea almoſte in good earneſt, his ieſters foliſh inuentions: bicauſe that he him ſelfe

ſmiling at them did ſeme not to diſproue them. So that hereby you may right wel perceaue how litle the courtiers woulde regarde and eſteme me and my ſayinges.

I enſure you maiſter Raphael, quod I, I toke greate delectacion in hearing you: all thinges that you ſaide were ſpoken ſo wittilye and ſo pleaſauntly. And me thought me ſelfe to be in the meane time, not onelye at home in my countrei, but alſo through the pleaſaunt remembraunce of the Cardinal, in whoſe houſe I was broughte vp of a childe, to waxe a child againe. And frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate loue towardes you before, yet ſeynge you do ſo earneſtlye ſauoure this man, you wyll not beleue howe muche my loue towardes you is nowe increaſed. But yet, all this notwithſtandinge, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I muſt nedes beleue, that you, if you be diſpoſed, and can fynde in youre hearte to follow ſome Princes courte, ſhall with your good counſelles greatlye helpe and further the commen wealthe. Wherfore there is nothynge more apperteining to youre dewty, that is to ſaye, to the dewtie of a good man. For where as your Plato iudgeth that weale publiques ſhall by this meanes atteyne perfecte felicitie, eyther if philoſophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges geue themſelues to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, how farre I praye you, ſhall commen wealthes then be frome thys felicitie, yf Philoſophers wyll vouchefaufe to enſtruct kinges with their good counſell?

They be not ſo vnkinde (quod he) but they woulde gladlye do it, yea, manye haue done it alreadye in bookes that they haue putfurthe, if kynges and princes would be willynge and readye to folowe good counſell. But Plato doubtleſſe dyd well foreſee, oneleſſe kynges themſelues woulde applye their mindes to the ſtudye of Philoſophie, that elles they woulde neuer thoroughlye allowe the counſell of Philoſophers, beynge themſelues before euen from their tender age infected, and corrupt with peruerſe, and euill opinions. Whiche thynge Plato hymſelfe proued *trewe in kinge Dionyſe.* If I ſhoulde propoſe to any kynge

wholſome decrees, doynge my endeuoure to plucke out of hys mynde the pernicious originall cauſes of vice and noughtines, thinke you not that I ſhoulde furthewith either be driuen away, or elles made a laughyng ſtocke? Well ſuppoſe I were with the Frenche kynge, and there ſyttinge in his counſell, whiles in that mooſte ſecrete conſultation, the kynge him ſelfe there beynge preſente in hys owne perſonne they beate their braynes, and ſerche the verye bottomes of their wittes to diſcuſſe by what crafte and meanes the kynge maye ſtyl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe fugitiue Naples, And then howe to conquere the Venetians, and how to bringe vnder his iuriſdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with diuers other landes, whoſe kingdomes he hath longe a go in mind and purpoſe inuaded. Here whiles one counſelleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, ſo longe to endure, as ſhall be thought mete and expedient for their purpoſe, and to make them alſo of their counſell, yea, and beſides that to geue them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they haue brought theyr purpoſe about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme againe. An other thinketh beſt to hiere the Germaynes. An other woulde haue the ſauoure of the Swychers wonne with money. An others aduyſe is to appeaſe the puiſſaunte power of the Emperoures maieſtie wyth golde, as with a mooſte pleaſaunte, and acceptable ſacrifice. Whiles an other gyueth counſell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragone, and to reſtoore vnto him hys owne kyngedome of Nauarra, as a full aſſuraunce of peace. An other commeth in with his fiue egges, and aduiſeth to hooke in the kynge of Caſtell with ſome hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine Pieers of his courte for greate penſions. Whiles they all ſtaye at the chiefeſte doubte *of all*, what to do in the meane time with Englande, *and* yet agree all in this to make peace with the

The Frenchemen priu lie he counseled from the desire of Italie.

Launce knightes.

Englishmen, and with mooste suer and strange handes to bynde that weake and feable frendeshippe, so that they muste be called frendes, and hadde in suspicion as enemyes. And that therfore the Skottes muste be hadde in a readines, as it were in a standynge, readie at all occasions, in aunters the Englishmen shoulde sturre neuer so lytle, incontinent to set vpon them. And moreouer preuilie and secretlye (for openlie it maye not be done by the truce that is taken) prinelie therefore I saye to make muche of some Piere of Englande, that is bannished hys countrey, whiche muste cleime title to the crowne of the realme, and affirme hym selfe iuste inherytoure thereof, that by this subtill meanes they maye holde to them the kinge, in whome elles they haue but small truste and affiaunce. Here I saye, where so great and heyghe matters be in consultation, where so manye noble and wyse menne counsell theyr kynge onelie to warre, here yf I selie man shoulde rise vp and will them to tourne ouer the leafe, and learne a newe lesson, sayinge that my counsell is not to medle with Italy, but to tarye styll at home, and that the kyngedome of Fraunce alone is almooste greater, then that it maye well be gouerned of one man: so that the kynge shoulde not nede to studye howe to gette more: And then shoulde propose vnto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens, whiche be situate ouer agaynste the Ilande of Utopia on the southeaste side. These Achoriens ones made warre in their kinges quarrell for to gette him another kingdome, whiche he laide claime vnto, and auaunced hymselfe ryghte inheritoure to the crowne thereof, by the tytle of an olde aliaunce. At the last when they had gotten it, an[d] sawe that they hadde euen as muche vexation and trouble in kepynge it, as they had in gettynge it, and that either their newe conquered subiectes by sundrye occasions were makynge daylye insurrections to rebell againste them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with diuers inrodes and *forragynges* inuadynge them: so that they were

A notable example, and worthy to be followed.

euer fighting either for them, or agaynſte them, and neuer coulde breake vp theyr campes: Seynge them ſelues in the meane ſeaſon pylled and impouerifhed: their money caried out of the realme: their own men killed to maintaine the glorye of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothynge better then warre, by reaſon that their people in warre had ſo inured themſelues to corrupte and wicked maners: that they had taken a delite and pleaſure in robbinge and ſtealing: that through manſlaughter they had gathered boldnes to miſchiefe: that their lawes were had in contempte, and nothing ſet by or regarded: that their king beynge troubled with the charge and gouernaunce of two kingdomes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to discharge his office towardes them both: ſeing againe that all theſe euelles and troubles were endles: at the laſte layde their heades together, and like faithfull and louinge ſubiectes gaue to their kynge free choiſe and libertie to kepe ſtyll the one of theſe two kingdomes whether he would: alleginge that he was not hable to kepe both, and that they were mo then might well be gouerned of halfe a king: foraſmuche as no man woulde be content to take him for his mulettour, that kepeth an other mans moyles beſydes his. So this good prince was conſtreyned to be content with his olde kyngedome, and to geue ouer the newe to one of his frendes. Who ſhortelye after was violentlie driuen out. Furthermore if I ſhoulde declare vnto them, that all this buſie preparaunce to warre, wherby ſo many nations for his ſake ſhould be broughte into a troubleſome hurlei-burley when all his coffers were emptied, his treaſures waſted, and his people deſtroied, ſhould at the length through ſome miſchance be in vaine and to none effect: and that therfore it were beſt for him to content him ſelfe with his owne kingedome of fraunce, as his forfathers and predeceſſours did before him: to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flouriſſhing as he could, to endeuoure him ſelfe to loue his ſubiectes, and againe to be beloued of them, willingly

to liue with them, peaceably to gouerne them, and with other kyngdomes not to medle, ſeinge that whiche he hath all reddy is euen ynoughe for him, yea and more then he can wel turne hym to: this myne aduyſe maiſter More, how thinke you it would be harde and taken?

So God helpe me not very thankefully, quod I,.

Wel let vs procede then, quod he. Suppoſe that ſome kyng and his counſel were together whettinge their wittes and deuiſinge, what ſubtell crafte they myght inuente to enryche the kinge with great treaſures of money. Firſt one counſelleth to rayſe and enhaunce the valuation of money when the kinge muſt paye anye: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to leſſe them it is worthe, when he muſte receiue or gather any. For thus great ſommes ſhalbe payde wyth a lytyl money, and where lytle is due muche ſhalbe receaued. An other counſelleth to ſayne warre, that when vnder this coloure and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate aboundaunce of money, he maye, when it ſhall pleaſe him, make peace with greate ſolempnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compaſſion forſothe vpon mans bloude, lyke a louing and a mercifull prince. An other putteth the kynge in remembraunce of certeine olde and moughteeaten lawes, that of longe tyme haue not bene put in execution, whych becauſe no man can remembre that they were made, euerie man hath tranſgreſſed. The ſynes of theſe lawes he counſelleth the kynge to require: for there is no waye ſo proffitable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a ſhewe and coloure of iuſtice. An other aduyſeth him to forbidde manye thinges vnder greate penalties and fines, ſpecially ſuche thinges as is for the peoples profit not be vſed, and afterwarde to diſpence for money with them, whyche by this prohibition ſubſteyne loſſe and dammage. For by this meanes the ſauour of the people is *wonne, and profite* riſeth two wayes. Firſt by tak-

Enhauncynge and imbasyng of coynes.

Counterfayte warres.

The renewing of olde lawes.

Reſtrayntes.

inge forfaytes of them whome couetouſnes of gaynes hath brought in daunger of this ſtatute, and alſo by ſellinge priuileges and licences, whyche the better that the prince is forſothe, the deerer he ſelleth them: as one that is lothe to graunte to any priuate perſone anye thinge that is againſte the proffite of his people. And therefore maye ſel none but at an exceding dere pryce. An other giueth the kynge counſel to endaunger vnto his grace the iudges of the Realme, that he maye haue them euer on his ſide, and that they maye in euerye matter deſpute and reaſon for the kynges right. Yea and further to call them into his palace and to require them there to argue and diſcuſſe his matters in his owne preſence. So there ſhalbe no matter of his ſo openlye wronge and vniuſte, wherein one or other of them, either becauſe he wyl haue ſumthinge to allege and obiecte or that he is aſhamed to ſaye that whiche is ſayde alreadye, or els to pike a thanke with his prince, wil not fynde ſome hole open to ſet a ſnare in, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in a trippe. Thus whiles the iudges cannot agree amonges them ſelfes, reaſoninge and arguing of that which is playne enough, and bringinge the manifeſt trewthe in dowte: in the meane ſeaſon the Kinge maye take a fyt occaſion to vnderſtand the lawe as ſhal moſte make for his aduauntage, wherevnto all other for ſhame, or for feare wil agree. Then the Iudges may be bolde to pronounce on the kynges ſide. For he that geueth ſentence for the king, cannot be without a good excuſe. For it ſhalbe ſufficient for him to haue equitie on his part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or a wrythen and wreſted vnderſtandinge of the ſame (or els, whiche with good and iuſt Iudges is of greater force then all lawes be) the Kynges indiſputable prerogative. To conclude, al the counſellours agre and conſent together with the ryche Craſſus, that no abundance of gold can be ſufficient for a prince, which muſte kepe and maynteyne an armie: furthermore that a kynge, thoughe he would, can do nothinge

Sellyng of licences.

The saiyng of riche Crassus.

vniuſtlye. For all that all men haue, yea alſo the men them ſelfes be all his. And that euery man hath ſo much of his owne, as ye kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym. And that it ſhalbe moſte for the kinges aduantage, that his ſubiectes haue very lytle or nothinge in their poſſeſſion, as whoſe ſauegarde doth herein conſiſte, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, becauſe where theſe thinges be, there men be not wonte patiently to obeye harde, vniuſte, and vnlawefull commaundementes. Where as on the other part neade and pouertie doth holde downe and kepe under ſtowte courages, and maketh them patient perforce, takynge from them bolde and rebell ynge ſtomakes. Here agayne if I ſhoulde ryſe vp, and boldelye affirme that all theſe counſelles be to the kinge diſhonoure and reproche, whoſe honoure and ſafetye is more and rather ſupported and vpholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treaſures: and if I ſhould declare that the comminaltie chueſeth their king for their owne ſake, and not for his ſake: to the intent, that through his laboure and ſtudie they might al liue wealthily ſauffe from wronges and iniuries: and that therfore the kynge ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, euen as the office and dewtie of a ſhepehearde is in that he is a ſhepherde, to feede his ſhepe rather then himſelfe. For as towchinge this, that they thinke the defence and mayntenaunce of peace to conſiſte in the pouertie of the people, the thing it ſelfe ſheweth that they be farre out of the waye. For where ſhal a man finde more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more deſierous of newe mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the preſent ſtate of their lyfe? Or finallye who be bolder ſtomaked to bringe all in a hurlieburlye (therby truſtinge to get ſome windfal) then they that haue nowe nothinge to leeſe? And yf any Kyng were ſo ſmally regarded, and *ſo lightly eſtemed*, yea ſo behated of his ſubiectes, that

Pouertye the mother of debate and decai of realmes.

other wayes he could not kepe them in awe, but onlye by open wronges, by pollinge and ſhauinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie, ſewerly it were better for him to forſake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby though the name of a king be kepte, yet the maieſtie is loſt. For it is againſte the dignitie of a kynge to haue rule ouer beggers, but rather ouer ryche and welthie men, Of this mynde was the hardie and couragius Fabrice, when he ſayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himſelfe. And verelye one man to liue in pleaſure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and ſmarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a iayler. To be ſhorte as he is a folyſhe phiſition, that cannot cure his patientes diſeaſe, onles he caſte him in an other ſyckenes, ſo he that cannot amend the liues of his ſubiectes, but be taking from them the wealthe and commoditie of lyfe, he muſte nedes graunte that, he knoweth not the feate how to gouerne men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe, renounce vnhoneſt pleaſures, and forſake pride. For theſe be the chiefe vices that cauſe hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him doe coſt not aboue his power. Let hym reſtreyne wyckednes. Let him preuente vices, and take awaye the occaſions of offenſes by well orderynge hys ſubiectes, and not by ſufferynge wickednes to increaſe afterward to be punyſhed. Let hym not be to haſtie in callynge agayne lawes, whyche a cuſtome hathe abrogated: ſpecially ſuche as haue bene longe forgotten, and neuer lacked nor neaded. And let hym neuer vnder the cloke and pretence of tranſgreſſion take ſuche fynes and forfaytes, as no Iudge wyll ſuffre a priuate perſone to take, as vniuſte and ful of gile.

A worthy saiing of Fabrice.

Here if I ſhould brynge forth before them the lawe of the Macariens, whiche be not farre diſtaunt from Utopia: whoſe Kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a *ſolempne* othe, that he ſhall neuer at anye time haue

A pleasinge and notable lawe of the Macariens.

in hys treasure aboue a thousande pounde of golde or syluer. They saye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe and commoditye of his countrey, then for th[e] enriching of him selfe, made this lawe to be a stop and a barre to kinges from heaping and hording vp so muche money as might impouerysshe their people. For he forsawe that this som of treasure woulde suffice to supporte the kynge in battaile against his owne people, if they shoulde chaunce to rebell: and also to maintein his warres againste the inuasions of his forreyn enemies. Againe he perceiued the same stocke of money to be to litle and vnsufficient to encourage and enhable him wrongfullye to take away other mens goodes: whyche was the chiefe cause whie the lawe was made. An other cause was this. He thought that by this prouision his people shoulde not lacke money, wherewith to mayneteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre. And seynge the kynge could not chewse but laye out and bestowe al that came in aboue the prescript some of his stocke, he thought he woulde seke no occasions to doe his subiectes iniurie. Suche a kynge shalbe feared of euel men, and loued of good men. These, and suche other informations, yf I shoulde vse among men wholye inclined and geuen to the contrarye part, how deaffe hearers thinke you shoulde I haue?

Deaffe hearers douteles (quod I) And in good faith no marueyle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not allowe that suche communication shalbe vsed, or suche counsell geuen, as you be suere shall neuer be regarded nor receaued. For howe can so straunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whose myndes be allredye preuented: with cleane contrarye persuasions? This schole philosophie is not vnpleasaunte amonge frendes in familiare communication, but in the counselles of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reasoned with greate authoritye, these thinges haue no place.

Schole philosophye in the consultations of Princes hath no place.

That is it whiche I mente (quod he) when I sayde *philosophye hadde no place* amonge kinges.

In dede (quod I) this ſchole philoſophie hath not: whiche thinketh all thinges mete for euery place. But there is an other philoſophye more ciuile, whyche knoweth, as ye wolde ſay, her owne ſtage, and thereafter orderynge and behauinge hereſelfe in the playe that ſhe hathe in hande, playethe her parte accordingelye with comlyenes, vtteringe nothinge oute of dewe ordre and faſſyon. And this is the philoſophye that you muſte vſe. Or els whyles a commodye of Plautus is playinge, and the vyle bondemen ſkoffynge and tryffelinge amonge them ſelfes, yf you ſhoulde ſodenlye come vpon the ſtage in a Philoſophers apparrell, and reherſe oute of Octauia the place wherein Seneca diſputeth with Nero: had it not bene better for you to haue played the domme perſone, then by reherſynge that, whych ſerued neither for the tyme nor place to haue made ſuche a tragycall comedye or gallymalfreye? For by bryngynge in other ſtuffe that nothinge apperteynethe to the preſente matter, you muſte nedes marre and peruert the play that is in hand, thoughe the ſtuffe that you bringe be muche better. What part ſoeuer you haue taken vpon you, playe that aſwell as you can and make the beſt of it: And doe not therefore diſturbe and brynge oute of ordre the whole matter, bycauſe that an other, whyche is meryer and better cummethe to your remembraunce. So the caſe ſtandeth in a common wealthe, and ſo it is in the conſultations of Kynges and prynces. Yf euel opinions and noughty perſuaſions can not be vtterly and quyte plucked out of their hartes, if you can not euen as you wolde remedy vices, which vſe and custome hath confirmed: yet for this cauſe you muſt not leaue and forſake the common wealthe: you muſte not forſake the ſhippe in a tempeſte, becauſe you can not rule and kepe downe the wyndes. No nor you muſte not laboure to dryue into their heades newe and ſtraunge informations, whyche you knowe wel ſhalbe *nothinge* regarded wyth them that be of cleane contrary

A fine and a fitte ſimilitude.

A dumme plaier.

mindes. But you muſt with a crafty wile and a ſubtell trayne ſtudye and endeuoure youre ſelfe, aſmuche as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye and handeſomelye for the purpoſe, and that whyche you can not turne to good, ſo to order it that it be not uerye badde. For it is not poſſible for al thinges to be well, onles all men were good. Whych I thinke wil not be yet thies good many yeares.

By this meanes (quod he) nothinge elles wyl be brought to paſſe, but whyles that I goe aboute to remedye the madnes of others, I ſhoulde be euen as madde as they. For if I wolde ſpeake ſuche thinges that be trewe I muſt neades ſpeake ſuche thinges: but as for to ſpeake falſe thinges, whether that be a philoſophers parte or no I can not tel, truelye it is not my part. Howebeit this communication of mine, thoughe peraduenture it maye ſeme vnpleſaunte to them, yet can I not ſee why it ſhoulde ſeme ſtraunge, or foliſhelye newſangled. If ſo be that I ſhould ſpeake thoſe thinges that Plato faynethe in his weale publique: or that the Utopians doe in theires, theſe thinges thoughe they were (as they be in dede) better, yet they myghte ſeme ſpoken oute of place. Foraſmuche as here amonges vs, euerye man hathe his poſſeſſions ſeuerall to him ſelfe, and there all thinges be common. But what was in my communication conteyned, that mighte not, and oughte not in anye place to be ſpoken? Sauynge that to them whyche haue throughlye decreed and determined with them ſelfes to runne hedlonges the contrary waye it can not be acceptable and pleaſaunt, becauſe it calleth them backe, and ſheweth them the ieopardies, Verilye yf all thynges that euel and vitiouſe maners haue cauſed to ſeme inconueniente and noughte ſhould be refuſed, as thinges vnmete and reprochefull, then we muſt among Chriſten people wynke at the moſte parte of al thoſe thinges, whych Chriſt taught vs, and ſo ſtreitly forbad them to be winked at, yat thoſe thinges alſo whiche he whiſpered in ye eares of his diſciples he

The Utopia weale publique.

commaunded to be proclaimed in open houſes. And yet ye moſt parte of them is more diffident from the maners of the worlde nowe a dayes, then my communication was. But preachers flie and wilie men followynge youre counſel (as I ſuppoſe) bicauſe they ſaw men euel willing to frame theyr manners to Chriſtes rule, they haue wreſted and wriede his doctryne, and like a rule of leade haue applyed it to mennes manners: that by ſome meanes at the leaſte waye, they myghte agree together. Whereby I can not ſee what good they haue done: but that men may more ſickerlye be euell. And I truelye ſhoulde preuaile euen as litle in kinges counſelles. For either I muſte ſaye otherwayes then they ſaye, and then I were as good to ſaye nothinge, or els I muſte ſaye the ſame that they ſaye, and (as Mitio ſaieth in Terence) helpe to further their madnes. For that craftye wyle, and ſubtil traine of yours, I can not perceaue to what purpoſe it ſerueth, wherewith you wolde haue me to ſtudy and endeuoure my ſelfe, yf all thinges can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handſomely for the purpoſe, yat as farre forth as is poſſible they, may not be very euel. For there is no place to diſſemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtye counſelles muſte be openlye allowed and verye peſtilent decrees muſte be approued. He ſhalbe counted worſe then a ſpye, yea almoſte as euel as a traytour, that with a ſaynte harte doth prayſe euel and noyeſome decrees. Moreouer a man canne haue no occaſion to doe good, chaunſinge into the companye of them, whych wyl ſoner peruerte a good man, then be made good them ſelfes: through whoſe euel company he ſhalbe marred, or els if he remayne good and innocent, yet the wickednes and follye of others ſhalbe imputed to hym, and layde in his necke. So that it is impoſſible with that craftye wyele, and ſubtel trayne to turne anye thinge to better. Wherefore Plato by a goodlye ſimilitude declareth, why wiſe men refraine to medle in the common wealthe. *For* when they ſee the people ſwarme into the ſtretes, *and* daily wet to the ſkinne with rayne, and yet can

erſuade them to goe out of the rayne, and to take houſes, knowynge wel, that if they ſhoulde goe them, they ſhould nothinge preuayle, nor wynne by it, but with them be wette alſo in the raine, do kepe them ſelfes within their houſes, being nt that they be ſaffe them ſelues, feinge they can-emedye the follye of the people. Howe be it tleſſe maiſter More (to ſpeke truelye as my mynde h me) where poſſeſſions be priuate, where money the all the ſtroke, it is harde and almoſte impoſſi-hat there the weale publique maye iuſtelye be ned, and proſperouſlye floryſhe. Onles you thinke that Iuſtyce is there executed, where all thinges into the handes of euell men, or that proſperitye floryſſhethe, where all is diuided amonge a fewe: he fewe neuertheleſſe doe not leade theire liues wealthely, and the reſydewe lyue myſerablye, hedlye, and beggerlye. Wherefore when I con-with my ſelfe and weye in my mynde the wyſe, odlye ordinaunces of the Utopians, amonge whome verye fewe lawes all thinges be ſo wel and wealthe-rdered, that vertue is had in pryce and eſtimation, et all thinges beinge there common, euerye man aboundaunce of euerye thinge. Againe on the part, when I compare with them ſo manye na-euer makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all and ſufficientlye, furnyſſhed with lawes: where e man calleth that he hathe gotten, his owne r and priuate goodes, where ſo many newe lawes e made be not ſufficiente for euerye man to enioye, d, and knowe from an other mans that whych he h his owne: which thinge the infinite controuerſies e lawe, dayle ryſynge, neuer to be ended, playnly re to be trewe. Theſe thinges (I ſay) I conſider with me ſelfe, I holde wel Plato, and doe nothinge marueille, e woulde make no lawes for them, refuſed thoſe lawes, whereby all men ſhoulde haue *enioye equall portions of* welthes and commodities.

Plato wylled al things in a common wealth to be commen.

For the wiſe man did eaſely foreſee, this to bee the one and only'e waye to the wealthe of a communaltye, yf equalitye of all thinges ſhould be broughte in and ſtablyſhed. Whyche I thinke is not poſſible to be obſerued, where euerye mans gooddes be proper and peculiare to him ſelfe. For where euerye man vnder certeyne tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himſelfe aſmuch as he can, ſo that a fewe deuide among them ſelfes all the whole riches, be there neuer ſo muche abundaunce and ſtoore, there to the reſidewe is lefte lacke and pouertye. And for the moſte parte it chaunceth, that this latter ſorte is more worthye to enioye that ſtate of wealth, then the other be: bycauſe the ryche men be couetous, craftye, and vnprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, ſimple, and by theire daylye laboure more profitable to the common welthe then to them ſelfes. Thus I doe fullye perſuade me ſelfe, that no equall and iuſte diſtribution of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealthe ſhall euer be among men, onles this propriety be exiled and banniſhed. But ſo long as it ſhal continew, ſo long ſhal remaine among the moſt and beſt part of men the heuy, and ineuitable burden of pouerty and wretchednes. Whiche, as I graunte that it maye be ſumwhat eaſed, ſo I vtterly denye that it can wholy be taken away. For if there were a ſtatute made, that no man ſhould poſſeſſe aboue a certeine meaſure of grounde, and that no man ſhoulde haue in his ſtocke aboue a preſcripte and appointed ſome of money: if it were by certein lawes decreed, that neither the Kinge ſhoulde be of to greate power, neither the people to haute and wealthy, and that offices ſhoulde not be obteined by inordinate ſuite, or by brybes and gyftes: that they ſhoulde neither be bought nor ſold, nor that it ſhoulde be nedeful for the officers, to be at any coſt or charge in their offices: for ſo occaſion is geuen to theym by fraude and rauin to gather vp their money againe, and by reaſon of giftes and bribes the offices be geuen to rich men, which ſhoulde rather haue bene

executed of wiſe men: by ſuch lawes I ſay, like as ſicke bodies that be deſperat and paſt cure, be wont with continual good cheriſſing to be kept and botched vp for a time: ſo theſe euels alſo might be lightened and mitigated. But yat thei may be perfectly cured, and brought to a good and vpryght ſtate, it is not to be hoped for, whiles euery man is maiſter of his owne to him ſelfe. Yea and whyles you goe aboute to doe youre cure of one parte, you ſhall make bygger the ſore of an other parte, ſo the healpe of one cauſeth anothers harme: forasmuche as nothinge can be geuen to annye one, onles it be taken from an other.

But I am of a contrary opinion (quod I) for me thinketh that men ſhal neuer there liue wealthelye, where all thinges be commen. For howe can there be abundaunce of gooddes, or of any thing, where euery man withdraweth his hande from labour? Whome the regard of his owne gaines driueth not to worke, but the hope that he hath in other mens trauayles maketh him ſlowthfull. Then when they be pricked with pouertye, and yet no man can by any lawe or right defend that for his owne, which he hathe gotten with the laboure of his owne handes, ſhal not there of neceſſitie be continual ſedition and blodeſhed? Speciallye the authoritye and reuerence of magiſtrates beinge taken awaye, whiche, what place it maye haue with ſuch men amonge whome is no difference, I cannot deuiſe.

I maruel not (quod he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceaue in youre minde either none at al, or els a verye falſe Image and ſimilitude of this thing. But yf you had bene with me in Utopia, and had preſentelye ſene theire faſſhions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there. v. yeares, and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knowen here: Then doubtles you wolde graunt, that you neuer ſawe people wel ordered, but onlye there.

Surely (quod maiſter Peter) it ſhalbe harde for you to make me beleue, that there is better order in that

newe lande, then is here in theſe countryes, that wee knowe. For good wittes be aſwel here as there: and I thinke oure commen wealthes be auncienter than theires: wherin long vſe and experience hath found out many thinges commodious for mannes lyfe, beſides that manye thinges heare amonge vs haue bene founde by chaunce, which no wytte colde euer haue deuyſed.

As touchinge the auncientnes (quod he) of common wealthes, than you might better iudge, if you had red the hiſtories and cronicles of that land, which if we may beleue, cities were there, before men were here. Nowe what thinge ſoeuer hetherto by witte hath bene deuiſed, or found by chaunce, that myght be aſwel there as here. But I thinke verily, though it were ſo that we did paſſe them in witte: yet in ſtudy, in trauaile, and in labourſome endeuoure they farre paſſe vs. For (as theire Chronicles teſtifie) before our arriual there, they neuer hard any thing of vs, whome they cal the vltraequinoctialles: ſauing that ones about. M.CC. [twelve hundred] yeares ago, a certeine ſhyppe was loſt by the Ile of Utopia whiche was driuen thether by tempeſt. Certeine Romaines and Egyptians were caſt on lande. Whyche after that neuer wente thence. Marke nowe what profite they tooke of this one occaſion through delygence and earneſte trauaile. There was no craſte nor ſcyence within the impire of Rome wherof any proffite could riſe, but they either lerned it of theſe ſtraungers, or els of them taking occaſion to ſearche for it, founde it oute. So greate proffite was it to them that euer anye wente thyther from hence. But yf annye like chaunce before this hath brought anye man from thence hether, that is as quyte out of remembraunce, as this alſo perchaunce in time to come ſhalbe forgotten, that euer I was there. And like as they quickelye, almoſte at the firſt meting, made theire owne, what ſoeuer is amonge vs wealthelye deuiſed: ſo I ſuppoſe it wolde be long before we wolde receaue anythinge, that amonge them is better inſtituted then amonge vs.

And this I ſuppoſe is the chiefe cauſe whie their common wealthes be wyſelyer gouerned, and doe flowriſh in more wealthe, then ours, though we neither in wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

Therefore gentle Maiſter Raphael (quod I) I praye you and beſeche you deſcribe vnto vs the Ilande. And ſtudy not to be ſhorte: but declare largely in order their groundes, their riuers, their cities, theire people, theire manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be ſhort al thinges, that you ſhal thinke vs deſierous to knowe. And you ſhal thinke vs deſierous to know what ſoeuer we knowe not yet.

There is nothing (quod he) that I wil doe gladlier. For all theſe thinges I haue freſhe in mind. But ye matter requireth leaſure.

Let vs go in therfore (quod I) to dinner, afterward we wil beſtowe the time at our pleaſure.

Content (quod he) be it.

So we went in and dyned. When dinner was done, we came into the ſame place again, and ſate vs downe vpon the ſame benche, commaunding oure ſeruauntes that no man ſhould trouble vs. Then I and Maiſter Peter Giles deſiered maiſter Raphael to performe his promiſe. He therefore ſeing vs deſirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had ſit ſtil and pauſed a litle while, muſing and bethinkinge himſelfe, thus he began to ſpeake.

The end of the Firſte boke.

The seconde

boke of the communication of Raphael Hythlodaye, concernyng the best state of a common wealthe conteynynge the discription of Utopia, with a large declaration of the politike gouernemente, and of all the good lawes and orders of the same Ilande.

The sice and fashion of the newe ylande Utopia.

THe Iland of Utopia, conteynethe in breadthe in the middel parte of it (for there it is brodeſt) CC. [two hundred] miles. Which bredthe continueth throughe the moſte parte of the lande Sauing that by litle and litle it commeth in, and waxeth narrower towardes both the endes. Which fetching about a circuite or compaſſe of V.C. [five hundred] Miles, do faſſion ye whole Iland like to ye new mone. Betwene theſe two corners the ſea runneth in, diuidyng them a ſonder by the diſtaunce. of. xi miles or there aboutes, and there ſurmountethe into a large and wyde ſea, which by reaſon that the land on euery ſide compaſſethe it about, and ſhiltreth it from the windes, is not roughe, nor mounteth not with great waues, but almoſt floweth quietlye, not muche vnlike a greate ſtandinge powle: and maketh welnieghe all the ſpace within the bellye of the lande in maner of a hauen: and to the *greate* commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaueth in

ſhyppes towardes euerye parte of the lande. The forefrontes or frontiers of the. ii. corners, what with fordes and ſhelues, and what with rockes be verye ieoperdous and daungerous. In the middle distaunce betwene them bothe ſtandeth vp aboue the water a greate rocke, which therfore is nothing perillous bycauſe it is in ſight. Vpon the top of this rocke is a faire and a ſtrong tower builded, which they holde with a garriſon of men. Other rockes there be lyinge hidde vnder the water, which therfore be daungerous. The channelles be knowen onely to themſelfes. And therfore it ſeldome chaunceth that anye ſtraunger oneles he be guided by an Utopian can come in to this hauen. In ſo muche that they themſelfes could ſkaſelye entre withoute ieoperdie, but that theire way is directed and ruled by certaine lande markes ſtandinge on the ſhore. By turninge, tranſlatinge, and remouinge thies markes into other places they maye deſtroye theire enemies nauies, be they neuer ſo many. The out ſide or vtter circuite of ye land is alſo ful of hauens, but the landing is ſo ſuerly fenced, what by nature, and what by workemanſhyp of mans hand, that a fewe defenders maye dryue backe many armies. Howbeit as they ſaye, and as the faſſion of the place it ſelfe dothe partely ſhewe, it was not euer compaſſed about with the ſea. But kyng Utopus, whoſe name, as conquerour the Iland beareth (For before his tyme it was called Abraxa) which alſo broughte the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in al good faſſions, humanitye, and ciuile gentilnes, wherin they nowe goe beyond al ye people of the world: euen at his firſte arriuinge and enteringe vpon the lande, furthwith obteynynge the victory, cauſed. xv. [fifteen] myles ſpace of vplandyſhe grounde, where the ſea had no paſſage, to be cut and dygged vp.

A place naturally fenced nedethe but one garrison.

A politique deuise in the chaunging of land markes.

The Ilande of Utopia so named of king Utopus.

And ſo brought the ſea rounde aboute the lande. He ſet to this worke not only the inhabitauntes of the

Ilande (becauſe they ſhould not thinke it done in contumelye and deſpyte) but alſo all his owne ſoldiours. Thus the worke beyng diuided into ſo greate a numbre of workemen, was with excedinge maruelous ſpede dyſpatched. In ſo muche that the borderers, whiche at the firſte began to mocke, and to ieſte at this vaine enterpryſe, then turned theire deriſion to marueyle at the ſucceſſe, and to feare.

Many handes make light worke.

There be in the Ilande. liiii. [fifty four] large and faire cities, or ſhiere townes, agreyng all together in one tonge, in lyke maners, inſtitucions, and lawes. They be all ſet and ſituate a lyke, and in al poyntes faſhioned alyke, as farforthe as the place or plotte ſufferethe.

Cities in Utopia.

Similitude causeth concorde.

Of theſe cities they that be nigheſte together be, xxiiii. [twenty four] myles aſonder. Againe there is none of them diſtaunte from the nexte aboue one dayes iorneyeye a fote. There com yearly to Amaurote out of euery cytie. iii old men wyſe and well experienced, there to entreate and debate, of the common matters of the land. For this citie (becauſe it ſtandeth iuſte in the middes of the Ilande, and is therefore moſte mete for the ambaſſadours of all partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade citye. The precinctes and boundes of the ſhieres be ſo commodiouſlye appoynted oute, and ſet fourthe for the cities, that none of them all hathe of anye ſyde leſſe then xx. [twenty] myles of grounde, and of ſome ſyde alſo muche more, as of that part where the cities be of farther diſtaunce aſonder. None of the cities deſire to enlarge the boundes and limites of theire ſhieres. For they counte them ſelfes rather the good huſbandes, then the owners of theire landes. They haue in the countrey in all partes of the ſhiere houſes or fermes builded, wel appointed and furnyſhed with all ſortes of inſtrumentes and tooles belongynge to huſbandrye. *Theſe houſes* be inhabited of the citezens, whyche come

A meane distaunce betwene citie and citie.

The distribution of landes.

But this now adaies is the grounde of all mischeife.

Husbandrie and tillage cheifly and principally regarded and aduaunced.

thether to dwelle by courſe. No howſholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then. xl. [forty] perſones men and women, beſydes two bondmen, whyche be all vnder the rule and order of the good man, and the good wyfe of the houſe, beinge bothe verye ſage, diſcrete, and aunciente perſones. And euery. xxx. [thirty] fermes or families haue one heade ruler, whyche is called a Philarche, being as it were a head baylyffe. Out of euery one of theſe families or fermes commeth euerye yeare into the citie. xx. [twenty] perſones whiche haue continewed. ij. yeres before in the countreye. In theire place ſo manye freſhe be ſent thether oute of the citie, whoe, of them that haue bene there a yeare all readye, and be therefore expert and conninge in huſbandry, ſhalbe inſtructed and taughte. And they the nexte yeare ſhall teache other. This order is vſed for feare that either ſkarſenes of victualles, or ſome other like incommoditie ſhould chaunce, throughe lacke of knowledge: yf they ſhould be altogether newe, and freſhe, and vnexperte in husbandrie. This maner and faſſion of yearelye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of huſbandrye, though it be ſolempne and cuſtomablye vſed, to th[e] intent that no man ſhall be conſtrayned againſte his wil to contynewe longe in that harde and ſharpe kynde of lyfe, yet manye of them haue ſuche a pleaſure and delyte in huſbandrye, that they obteyne a longer ſpace of yeares. Theſe huſbandmen plowe and til the ground, and breede vp cattel, and prouide and make ready woode, whyche they carrye to the citie either by lande, or by water, as they maye moſte conuenyently. They brynge vp a greate multitude of pulleyne, and that by a meruaylouſe policye. For the hennes dooe not ſytte vpon the egges: but by keepynge theym in a certayne equall heate they brynge lyfe into them, and hatche theym. The chykens, aſſone as they be come oute of the ſhel, follow men and women in ſteade of the hennes. They brynge vp verye fewe horſes: nor none, but very fearce ones: and that for none other vſe or purpoſe, but onlye to

The dueties of men of husbandrye.

A straunge faſſion in hatchinge and bringing vp of pulleyne.

The vse of horses.

exercyſe theire youthe in rydynge and feates of armes.

The vse of Oxen. For oxen be put to all the laboure of plowyng and drawinge. Whiche they graunte to be not ſo good as horſes at a ſodeyne brunte, and (as we ſaye) at a deade lifte, but yet they holde opinion, that oxen wil abide and ſuffre muche more laboure, payne and hardnes, then horſes wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and ſubiect vnto ſo many diſeaſes, and that they be kepte and mainteined with muche leſſe coſte and charge: and finallye that they be good for meate, when they be paſt laboure. They ſowe

Bread and drink. corne onelye for breade. For their drinke is eyther wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peares, or els it is cleare water. And many times meathe made of honey or licoureſſe ſodde[n] in water, for thereof they haue great ſtore. And though they knowe certeynlie (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) how muche vitailes the citie wyth the whole countreye or ſhiere rounde aboute it doeth

A great discretion in sowing of corne. ſpende: Yet they ſowe muche more corne, and bryed vp muche more cattell, then ſerueth for their owne vſe, partynge the ouer plus among their borderers. What ſoeuer neceſſarie thinges be lacking in the countrey, all ſuche ſtuffe they fetch out of the citie: where without any exchaunge they eaſelye obteyne it of the magiſtrates of the citie. For euery moneth manie of them go into the citie on the holye daye. When theyr harueſt day draweth neare, and is at hande, then the Philarches, which be the head officers and bailifes of huſbandrie, ſend

Mutual helpe quickely dispatcheth. worde to the magiſtrates of the citie what numbre of harueſt men is nedefull to be ſent to them oute of the citie. The whiche companye of harueſt men beynge readye at the daye appoynted, almoſt in one fayre daye diſpacheth all the harueſt woorke.

Of the cities and namely of Amaurote.

AS for their cities, who ſo knoweth one of them, knoweth them all: they be al ſo like one to an other, as farfurthe as the nature of the place permitteth. I will deſcribe therefore to you one or other of them, for it ſkilleth not greatly which: but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthieſt and of moſt dignitie. For the reſideu knowledge it for the head citie, because there is the counſell houſe. Nor to me anye of them all is better beloued, as wherein I liued fiue whole yeares together. The citie of Amaurote ſtandeth vpon the ſide of a lowe hill in faſhyon almoſt foure ſquare. For the breadth of it beginneth a litle beneth the toppe of the hill, and ſtill continueth by ye ſpace of two miles, vntill it come to the ryuer of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the ryuers ſyde, is ſumwhat more. The riuer of Anyder riſeth four and twentie myles aboue Amaurote out of a little ſpringe. But beynge increaſed by other ſmale riuers and broukes that runne into it, and amonge other two ſumwhat bygge ons, before the citie it is half a mile broade, and farther broader. And fortie myles beyond the citie it falleth into the Ocean ſea. By all that ſpace that liethe betwene the ſea and the citie, and certen myles alſo aboue the citie the water ebbeth and floweth ſixe houres together with a ſwift tide. Whan the ſea floweth in, for the length of thirtie miles it filleth all the Anyder with ſalte water, and driueth backe the freſhe water of the ryuer. And ſumwhat further it chaungeth the ſwetenes of the freſhe water with ſaltnes. But a *litle beyonde* that the riuer waxeth ſwete, and

The deſcription of Amaurote the chiefe Citie in Utopia.

The deſcription of the riuer of Anyder.

The verie like in England in the riuer of Thamys.

runneth foreby the citie freſhe and pleaſaunt. And when the ſea ebbeth, and goeth backe againe, the freſhe water foloweth it almooſte euen to the verie ſal into the ſea. Ther goeth a bridge ouer the riuer made not of piles or of timber, but of ſtonewarke with gorgious and ſubſtancial arches at that part of the citie that is fartheſt from the ſea: to the intent that ſhippes maye paſſe alonge forbie all the ſide of the citie without let. They haue alſo an other riuer which in dede is not verie great. But it runneth gentely and pleaſauntly. For it riſeth euen oute of the ſame hill that the citie ſtandeth vpon, and runneth downe a ſlope through the middes of the citie into Anyder. And becauſe it riſeth a litle withoute the citie, the Amaurotians haue incloſed the head ſpringe of it, with ſtronge fences and bulwarkes, and ſo haue ioyned it to the citie. This is done to the intente that the water ſhoulde not be ſtopped nor turned away, or poyſoned, if their enemies ſhould chaunce to come vpon them. From thence the water is deriued and conueied downe in cannels of bricke diuers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot be done, by reaſon that the place wyll not ſuffer it, there they gather ye raine water in great ciſternes, whiche doeth them as good ſeruice. The citie is compaſſed aboute with a heighe and thicke ſtone walle full of turrettes and bulwarkes. A drie diche, but deape, and brode, and ouergrowen with buſhes, briers, and thornes, goeth aboute thre ſides or quarters of the city. To the fourth ſide the riuer it ſelfe ſerueth for a ditche. The ſtretes be appointed and ſet furth very commodious and handſome, both for carriage, and alſo againſte the windes. The houſes be of faire and gorgious building, and on the ſtrete ſide they ſtande ioyned together in a long rowe through the whole ſtreate without any partition or ſeparation. The ſtretes be twentie foote brode. On the backe ſide of

Herein also doeth London agre with Amaurote.

The vse of freshe water.

The defence of towne walles.

Stretes.

Buildinges and houses.

the houſes through the whole length of the ſtreete, lye large gardens incloſed rounde aboute wyth the backe part of the ſtreetes. Euerye houſe hathe two doores, one into the ſtreete, and a poſterne doore on the backſyde into the garden. Theſe doores be made with two leaues, neuer locked nor bolted, ſo eaſie to be opened, that they wil followe the leaſt drawing of a fynger, and ſhutte againe alone. Whoſo will, may go in, for there is nothinge within the houſes that is priuate, or anie mans owne. And euery tenth yeare they chaunge their houſes by lot. They ſet great ſtore by their gardeins. In them they haue vineyardes, all maner of fruite, herbes, and flowres, ſo pleaſaunt, ſo well furniſhed, and ſo fynely kepte, that I neuer ſawe thynge more frutefull, nor better trimmed in anye place. Their ſtudie and deligence herein commeth not onely of pleaſure, but alſo of a certen ſtrife and contention that is betwene ſtrete and ſtrete, concerning the trimming, huſbanding, and furniſhing of their gardens: euerye man for his owne parte. And verelye you ſhall not lightelye finde in all the citie anye thinge, that is more commodious, eyther for the profite of the Citizens, or for pleaſure. And therfore it maye ſeme that the firſt founder of the citie mynded nothing ſo much, as theſe gardens. For they ſaye that kinge Utopus him ſelfe, euen at the firſt beginning appointed, and drewe furth the platte fourme of the citie into this faſhion and figure that it hath nowe, but the gallant garniſhinge, and the beautifull ſettinge furth of it, wherunto he ſawe that one mannes age would not ſuffice: that he left to his poſteritie. For their cronicles, whiche they kepe written with all deligente circumſpection, conteinynge the hiſtorie of. M. vii. C. lx. [one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty] yeares, euen from the firſte conqueſt of the Ilande, recorde and witneſſe that the houſes in the beginning were very low, and like homely *cotages or poore* ſheppard houſes, made at all aduen-

To euery dwelling house a garden platte adioyninge.

This geere smelleth of Plato his communitie.

The commoditie of gardens is commended also of Vergile.

tures of euerye rude pece of tymber, that came firſte to hande, with mudde walles, and ridged rooffes, thatched ouer with ſtrawe. But nowe the houſes be curiouſlye buylded after a gorgious and gallante ſorte, with three ſtoryes one ouer another. The outſides of the walles be made either of harde flynte, or of plaſter, or els of bricke, and the inner ſydes be well ſtrengthened with tymber work. The roofes be plaine and flat, couered with a certen kinde of plaſter that is of no coſte, and yet ſo tempered that no fyre can hurt or periſhe it, and withſtandeth the violence of the wether better then any leade. They kepe the winde oute of their windowes with glaſſe, for it is ther much vſed, and ſomhere alſo with fine linnen cloth dipped in oyle or ambre, and that for two commodities.

Glazed or canuased windowes.

For by thys meanes more
lighte commeth in, and
the winde is better
kepte oute.

¶ Of the magistrates.

EVerye thirtie families or fermes, chueſe them yerely an officer, which in their olde language is called the Syphograunte, and by a newer name the Philarche. Euery ten Syphograuntes, with al their thirtie families be vnder an officer which was ones called the Tranibore, nowe the chiefe Philarche. Moreouer as concerninge the election of the Prince, all the Syphograuntes, which be in number. 200. firſt be ſworne to chueſe, him whom they thinke mooſte mete and expediente. Then by a ſecrete election, they name prince one of thoſe. iiij. whome the people before named vnto them. For oute of the. iiij. *quarters* of the citie there be. iiij chooſen, oute of

A tranibore in the Utopiane tonge signifieth a head or chief peere.

A maruelous straunge fassion in chusinge magistrates.

euery quarter one, to ſtande for the election: Whiche be put vp to the counſell. The princes office continueth all his life tyme, oneles he be depoſed or put downe for ſuſpition of tirannie. They chuefe the Tranibores yearly, but lightlie they chaunge them not. All the other officers be but for one yeare. The Tranibores euerye thyrde daye, and ſumtimes, yf nede be, oftener come into the counſell houſe with the prince. Their counſell is concerninge the common wealthe. If there be any controuerſies amonge the commoners, whiche be verye fewe, they diſpatch and ende them by and by. They take euer. ij. Siphograuntes to them in counſel, and eueri dai a new coupel. And it is prouided, that nothinge touchinge the common wealthe ſhalbe confirmed and ratified, onleſſe it haue bene reaſoned of and debated thre daies in the counſell, before it be decreed. It is deathe to haue anye conſultation for the common wealthe oute of the counſell, or the place of the common election. This ſtatute, they ſaye, was made to the entente, that the prince and Tranibores might not eaſilye conſpire together to oppreſſe the people by tyrannie, and to chaunge the ſtate of the weale publik. Therfore matters of great weight and importance be broughte to the election houſe of the Siphograuntes, which open the matter to their families. And afterwarde, when they haue conſulted amonge themſelues, they ſhew their deuiſe to the counſell. Somtime the matter is broughte before the counſel of the whole Ilande. Furthermore this cuſtome alſo the counſel vſeth, to diſpute or reaſon of no matter the ſame daye that it is firſte propoſed or put furthe, but to defferre it to the nexte ſyttinge of the counſell. Becauſe that no man when he hath raſhely there ſpoken that commeth to his *tonges ende, ſhall then* afterwarde rather ſtudye for

Tyranny in a wel ordered weale publique vtterlie to be abhorred.

Suites and controuerſies betwene partie and partie forthwith to be ended which now a daies of a set purpose be vnreasonably delaied.

Against haſtie and rash decries or ſtatutes.

A custome worthye to be vsed these daies in our counsels and parliamentes.

reaſons wherewith to defende and mainteine his fill foliſh ſentence, than for the commoditie of ye common wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hindraunce of the weale publike then any loſſe or diminution of his owne exiſtimation. And as one that would be aſhamed (which is a very foliſhe ſhame) to be counted anye thing at the firſte ouerſene in the matter. Who at the firſt ought to haue ſpoken rather wyſelye, then haſtely, or raſhlye.

¶ Of Sciences, Craftes and Occupations.

Husbandrie or tillage practised of all estates, which now a dayes is reiect vnto a fewe of the basest sort.

HVſbandrie is a Science common to them all ingenerall, bothe men and women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all inſtructe euen from their youth: partelie in their ſcholes with traditions and preceptes, and partlie in the countrey nighe the citie, brought vp as it were in playinge, not onely beholding the vſe of it, but by occaſion of exerciſing their bodies practiſing it alſo. Beſides huſbandrie, whiche (as I ſaide) is common to them all, euerye one of them learneth one or other ſeueral and particular ſcience, as his owne proper craſte. That is moſt commonly either clothworking in wol or flaxe, or maſonrie, or the ſmithes craft, or the carpenters ſcience. For there is none other occupation that any number to ſpeake of doth vſe there. For their garmentes, which throughoute all the Ilande be of one faſhion, (ſauynge that there is a difference betwene the mans garmente and the womans, betwene the maried and the vnmaried) and this one continueth for

Sciences or occupations should be learned for necessities sake, and not for the mayntenaunce of riotous excesse and wanton pleasure.

Similitude in apparrell.

euermore vnchaunged, ſemely and comelie to the eye, no lette to the mouynge and weldynge of the bodye, alſo fytte both for wynter and ſummer: as for theſe garmentes (I ſaye) euery familie maketh their owne. But of the other foreſaide craftes euerye man learneth one. And not onely the men, but alſo the women. But the women, as the weaker ſort, be put to the eaſier craftes: as to worke wolle and flaxe. The more laborſome ſciences be committed to the men. For the mooſte part euery man is broughte vp in his fathers crafte. For mooſte commonlye they be naturallie therto bente and inclined. But yf a mans minde ſtande to anye other, he is by adoption put into a familye of that occupation, which he doth moſt fantaſy. Whome not onely his father, but alſo the magiſtrates do diligently loke to, that he be put to a diſcrete and an honeſt houſeholder. Yea, and if anye perſon, when he hath learned one crafte, be deſierous to learne alſo another, he is likewyſe ſuffred and permitted.

No citizein without a science.

To what occupation euerye-one is naturallie inclined that let him learne.

When he hathe learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyll: oneleſſe the citie haue more neade of the one, then of the other. The chiefe and almooſte the onelye offyce of the Syphograuntes is, to ſee and take hede, that no manne ſit idle: but that euerye one applye hys owne craft with earneſt diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from earlie in the morninge, to late in the euenninge, with continuall worke, like labouringe and toylinge beaſtes.

Idel persones to be driuen out of the weale publique.

For this is worſe then the miſerable and wretched condition of bondemen. Whiche neuertheles is almooſte euerye where the lyfe of workemen and artificers, ſauing in Utopia. For they diuidynge the daye and the nyghte into xxiiii. iuſte houres, appointe and aſſigne onelye ſixe of thoſe houres to woorke before hoone, vpon the whiche they go ſtreighte to *diner: and after diner,* when they haue reſted two houres,

A moderation in the laboure and toyle of artificers.

then they worke iii. houres and vpon that they go to ſupper. Aboute eyghte of the cloke in the eueninge (countinge one of the clocke at the firſte houre after noone) they go to bedde: eyght houres they geue to ſlepe. All the voide time, that is betwene the houres of worke, ſlepe, and meate, that they be ſuffered to beſtowe, euery man as he liketh beſt him ſelfe. Not to th[e] intent that they ſhold miſpend this time in riote or ſlouthfulnes: but beynge then licenſed from the laboure of their owne occupations, to beſtow the time well and thriftelye vpon ſome other ſcience, as ſhall pleaſe them. For it is a ſolempne cuſtome there, to haue lectures daylye early in the morning, where to be preſente they onely be conſtrained that be namelye choſen and appoynted to learninge. Howbeit a greate multitude of euery ſort of people, both men and women go to heare lectures, ſome one and ſome an other, as euerye mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithſtanding, if any man had rather beſtowe this time vpon his owne occupation, (as it chaunceth in manye, whoſe mindes riſe not in the contemplation of any ſcience liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is alſo prayſed and commended, as profitable to the common wealthe. After ſupper they beſtow one houre in playe: in ſummer in their gardens: in winter in their commen halles: where they dine and ſuppe. There they exerciſe themſelues in muſike, or els in honeſt and wholſome communication. Diceplaye, and ſuche other foliſhe and pernicious games they know not. But they vſe ij. games not much vnlike the cheſſe. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbre ſtealethe awaye another. The other is wherin vices fyghte with vertues, as it were in battel array, or a ſet fyld. In the which game is verye properlye ſhewed, both the ſtriffe and diſcorde that vices haue amonge themſelfes, and agayne *theire* vnitye and concorde againſte vertues: And *alſo* what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues:

The studie of good literature.

Playing after supper.

But now adaies diceplay is the pastime of pnnces.

Plaies or games also profitable.

ith what powre and ſtrength they aſſaile them open-
e: by what wieles and ſubtelty they aſſaulte them
cretelye: with what helpe and aide the vertues reſiſte,
id ouercome the puiſſaunce of the vices: by what
aft they fruſtrate their purpoſes: and finally by what
eight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But
ere leaſt you be deceaued, one thinge you muſte looke
ore narrowly vpon. For ſeinge they beſtowe but. vi.
oures in woorke, perchaunce you maye thinke that the
cke of ſome neceſſarye thinges hereof maye enſewe.
ut this is nothinge ſo. For that ſmal time is not
nly enough but alſo to muche for the ſtoore and
oundaunce of all thinges, that be requiſite, either for
e neceſſitie, or commoditie of life. The which
inge you alſo ſhall perceaue, if you weye
id conſider with your ſelfes how great a
arte of the people in other contreis lyueth
lle. Firſt almoſt all women, whyche be the halfe of
e whole numbre: or els if the women be
mewhere occupied, there moſt common-
e in their ſteade the men be ydle. Beſydes this how
eate, and how ydle a companye is there of preyſtes, and
lygious men, as they cal them? put thereto
ryche men, ſpeciallye all landed men,
hich comonlye be called gentilmen, and
ble men. Take into this numbre alſo theire ſeruauntes:
meane all that flocke of ſtoute bragging
ffhe bucklers. Ioyne to them alſo ſturdy
id valiaunte beggers, clokinge their idle lyfe vnder
e coloure of ſome diſeaſe or ſickenes. And
ulye you ſhal find them much fewer then
u thought, by whoſe labour all theſe
inges are wrought, that in mens affaires are now
aylye vſed and frequented. Nowe conſyder with youre
lfe, of theſe fewe that doe woorke, how
we be occupied, in neceſſarye woorkes.
or where money beareth all the ſwinge, there many
yne and ſuperfluous occupations muſt nedes be vſed,
ſerue only for ryotous ſuperfluite, and vnhoneſt

The kyndes and sortes of ydel people.

Women.

Priestes and religious men. Riche men and landed men.

Seruyngmen.

Sturdy and valiaunt beggers.

Wonderfull wittely spoken.

pleaſure. For the ſame multitude that now is occupied in woork, if they were deuided into ſo fewe occupations as the neceſſarye vſe of nature requyreth: in ſo greate plentye of thinges as then of neceſſity woulde enſue, doubtles the prices wolde be to lytle for the artifycers to maynteyne theire liuinges. But yf all theſe that be nowe buſied about vnprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of them that lyue ydellye and ſlouthfullye, whyche conſume and waſte euerye one of them more of theſe thinges that come by other mens laboure, then. ij. of the workemen themſelfes doo: yf all theſe (I ſaye) were ſette to profytable occupatyons: you eaſelye perceaue howe lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea and to muche to ſtoore vs with all thinges that maye be requiſite either for neceſſitie, or for commoditye, yea or for pleaſure, ſo that the ſame pleaſure be trewe and natural. And this in Utopia the thinge it ſelfe makethe manifeſte and playne. For there in all the citye, with the whole contreye, or ſhiere adioyning to it ſcaſelye. 500. perſons of al ye whole numbre of men and women, that be neither to olde, nor to weake to worke, be licenſed and diſcharged from laboure. Amonge them be the Siphograuntes (whoe thoughe they be by the lawes exempte and priuileged from labour) yet they exempte not themſelfes: to the intent that they may the rather by their example prouoke other to worke. The ſame vacation from labour do they alſo enioye, to whome the people perſuaded by the commendation of the prieſtes, and ſecrete election of the Siphograuntes, haue geuen a perpetual licence from laboure to learninge. But if any one of them proue not accordinge to the expectation and hoope of him conceaued, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarye wiſe, often it chaunceth that a handicraftes man doth ſo earneſtly beſtowe his vacaunte and ſpare houres in learninge, and throughe diligence ſo profyteth therin, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Oute of t

Not asmuche as the magiſtrates liue idelly.

lre of the learned be choſen ambaſſa- urs, prieſtes, Tranibores, and finallye the nce him ſelfe. Whome they in theire olde ige cal Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus. ie reſidewe of the people being neither ydle, nor yet upied about vnprofitable exerciſes, it may be eaſely lged in how fewe houres how muche good woorke them may be doone and diſpatched, towardes thoſe nges yat I haue ſpoken of. This commodity they ue alſo aboue other, yat in the moſt part of neceſſarye cupations they neade not ſo much work, as other tions doe. For firſt of all ye buildinge or ayringe of houſes aſketh euerye where manye mens continual labour, bicauſe yat e vnthrifty heire ſuffereth ye houſes that his father ylded in contyneuaunce of tyme to fall in decay. So it which he myghte haue vpholden wyth lytle coſte, s ſucceſſoure is conſtreyned to buylde it agayne a we, to his great charge. Yea manye tymes alſo the wſe that ſtoode one man in muche moneye, another of ſo nyce and ſoo delycate a mynde, that he ſettethe thinge by it. And it beynge neglected, and there- e ſhortelye fallynge into ruyne, he buyldethe vppe other in an other place with no leſſe coſte and ardge. But amonge the Utopians, where all thinges ſett in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a od ſtaye, it very ſeldom chaunceth, that they cheuſe iewe plotte to buyld an houſe vpon. And they doo t only finde ſpedy and quicke remedies for preſent iltes: but alſo preuente them that be like to fall. And this meanes their houſes continewe and laſte very ige with litle labour and ſmal reparations: in ſo much it this kind of woorkmen ſomtimes haue almoſt noth- ge to doo. But that they be commaunded to hewe ibre at home, and to ſquare and trimme vp ſtones, the intente that if anye woorke chaunce, it may the *delier riſe.* *Now* Syr in their apparell, *ke (I praye you)* howe few woorkmen *neade.* Fyrſte of al, whyles they be at

Onely learned men called to offices.

How to auoyd excessiue cost in building.

How to lessen the charge in apparel.

woorke, they be couered homely with leather or ſkinnes, that will laſt. vii. yeares. When they go furthe abrode they caſte vpon them a cloke, whych hydeth the other homelye apparel. Theſe clookes through out the whole Iland be all of one coloure, and that is the natural coloure of the wul. They therefore do not only ſpend much leſſe wullen clothe then is ſpente in other contreis, but alſo the ſame ſtandeth them in muche leſſe coſte. But lynen clothe is made with leſſe laboure, and is therefore hadde more in vſe. But in lynen cloth onlye whyteneſſe, in wullen only clenlynes is regarded. As for the ſmalneſſe or fineneſſe of ye threde, that is no thinge paſſed for. And this is the cauſe wherfore in other places. iiii. or v clothe gownes of dyuers coloures, and as manye ſilke cootes be not enoughe for one man. Yea and yf he be of the delicate and nyſe ſorte. x. [ten] be to fewe: whereas there one garmente wyl ſerue a man mooſte commenlye. ij. yeares. For whie ſhoulde he deſyre moo? ſeinge yf he had them, he ſhould not be the better hapte or couered from colde, neither in his apparel anye whitte the comlyer. Wherefore, ſeinge they be all exercyſed in profitable occupations, and that fewe artificers in the ſame craftes be ſufficiente, this is the cauſe that plentye of all thinges beinge among them, they doo ſometymes bringe forthe an innumerable companye of people to amend the hyghe wayes, yf anye be broken. Many times alſo, when they haue no ſuche woorke to be occupied aboute, an open proclamation is made, that they ſhall beſtowe fewer houres in worke. For the magiſtrates doe not exerciſe theire citizens againſte theire willes in vnneadefull laboures. For whie in the inſtitution of that weale publique, this ende is onelye and chiefely pretended and mynded, that what time maye poſſibly be ſpared from the neceſſarye occupacions and affayres of the commen wealth, all yat the citizeins ſhoulde withdrawe from the bodely ſeruice to the free libertye of the minde, and garniſſhinge of the ſame. For herein they ſuppoſe the felicitye of this liffe to conſiſte.

¶ Of theire liuinge and mutual conuersation together.

BVt nowe wil I declare how the citizens vſe them ſelfes one towardes another: what familiar occupieng and enterteynement, there is amonge the people, and what faſhion they vſe in the diſtribution of euery thing. Firſte the city conſiſteth of familles, the families moſt commonlye be made of kinredes. For the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into theire huſbandes houſes. But the male children, with al the whole male offſpringe continewe ſtill in their owne family and be gouerned of the eldeſt and auncienteſt father, onles he dote for age: for then the next to him in age, is placed in his rowme. But to th[e]intentye preſcript number of the citezens ſhoulde neither decreaſe, nor aboue meaſure increaſe, it is ordeined that no familie which in euery citie be. vi. thouſand in the whole, beſydes them of the contrey, ſhall at ones haue fewer children of the age of. xiiii. yeares or there about then. x. or mo then. xvi. for of children vnder this age no numbre can be preſcribed or appointed. This meaſure or numbre is eaſely obſerued and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be aboue the number into families of ſmaller increaſe. But if chaunce be that in ye whole citie the ſtoore increaſe aboue the iuſt number, therewith they fil vp ye lacke of other cities. But if ſo be yat the multitude throughout the whole Ilande paſſe and excede the dewe number, then they chueſe out of euery citie certein citezens, and build vp a towne vnder their owne lawes in the next land where the inhabitauntes haue muche waſte and vnoccupied ground, receauing alſo of the ſame countrey people to them, if they wil ioyne and dwel with them. They thus ioyning

The numbre of citizens.

and dwelling together do eaſelye agre in one faſſion of liuing, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they ſo bringe the matter about by theire lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe ſufficiente and fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabitauntes of that lande wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryue them out of thoſe boundes which they haue limited, and apointed out for them ſelues. And if they reſiſte and rebel, then they make warre agaynſt them. For they counte this the moſte iuſte cauſe of warre, when anye people holdethe a piece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable vſe, kepyng other from the vſe and poſſeſſion of it, whiche notwithſtandyng by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nouryſhed and relieued. If anye chaunce do ſo muche diminiſhe the number of any of theire cities, that it cannot be fylled vp agayne, without the diminiſhynge of the iuſt numbre of the other cyties (whiche they ſay chaunced but twyſe ſynce the beginnyng of the lande throughe a greate peſtilente plage) then they fulfyll and make vp the numbre with cytezens fetched out of theire owne forreyne townes, for they had rather ſuffer theire forreyne townes to decaye and peryſhe, then any cytie of theire owne Ilande to be diminiſhed. But nowe agayne to the conuerſation of the cytezens amonge themſelſes. The eldeſte (as I ſayde) rulethe the familye. The wyfes bee miniſters to theire huſbandes, the children to theire parentes, and to bee ſhorte the yonger to theire elders. Euery Cytie is deuided into foure equall partes or quarters. In the myddes of euery quarter there is a market place of all maner of thinges. Thether the workes of euery familie be brought into certeyne houſes. And euerye kynde of thing is layde vp ſeuerall in bernes or ſtore houſes. From hence the father of euerye familye, or euery houſholder fetchethe whatſoeuer he and his haue neade of, and carieth it away with him without money,

So might we well be discharged and eased of the ydle company of seruyngmen.

nout exchaunge, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. whye ſhoulde any thing be denyed vnto him? ſeynge re is abundaunce of all thinges, and that it is not to feared, leſte anye man wyll aſke more then he deth. For whie ſhould it be thoughte that that man ılde aſke more then anough, which is ſewer neuer acke? Certeynely in all kyndes of lyue creatures either feare of lacke dothe ſe couetouſnes and rauyne, or in man y pryde, which counteth it a glorious thinge to paſſe excel other in the ſuperfluous and vayne oſtentation thinges. The whyche kynde of vice amonge the ɔpians can haue no place. Nexte to the market ces that I ſpake of, ſtande meate markettes: wher be brought not only all ſortes of herbes, and the ites of trees, with breade, but alſo fiſhe, and all ner of. iiii. footed beaſtes, and wilde foule that be ns meate. But firſt the fylthynes and ordure therof lene waſhed awaye in the renninge ryuer without the ie in places appoynted mete for the ſame purpoſe. ɔm thence the beaſtes be brought in kylled, and ane waſſhed by the handes of theire bondemen For y permitte not their frie citezens to accuſtome them es to the killing of beaſtes, through the vſe whereof y thinke, clemencye the genteleſte affec- n of oure nature by lytle and lytle to aye and peryſhe. Neither they ſuffer e thinge that is fylthye, lotheſom, or lenlye, to be broughte into the cytie, leaſt the ayre the ſtenche therof infected and corrupte, ulde cauſe peſtilente diſeaſes. More- er euerye ſtrete hath certeyne great large les ſett in equal diſtaunce one from an- er, euerye one knowen by a ſeuerall name. In theſe les dwell the Syphograuntes. And to euerye one of ſame halles be apoynted. xxx. [thirty] families, on either . xv [fifteen] The ſtewardes of euerye halle at a cerne houre come in to the meate markettes, where they *eyue meate accordinge* to the number of their halles.

The cause of coueteus and extortion.

Of the slaughter of beastes we haue learned manslaughter.

Fylth and ordure bring the infection of pestilence into Cyties.

Care, diligence and attendance about the sicke.

But firſt and chieflie of all reſpect is had to the ſycke, that be cured in the hoſpitalles. For in the circuite of the citie, a litle without ye walles, they haue. iiii. hoſpitalles, ſo bigge ſo wyde, ſo ample, and ſo large, that they may ſeme. iiii. litle townes, which were deuiſed of yat bignes partely to th[e] intent the ſycke, be they neuer ſo many in numbre, ſhuld not lye to thronge or ſtrayte, and therfore vneaſely, and incommodiouſly: and partely that they which were taken and holden with contagious diſeaſes, ſuche as be wonte by infection to crepe from one to an other, myght be layde apart farre from the company of ye reſidue Theſe hoſpitalles be ſo wel appointed, and with al thinges neceſſary to health ſo furniſhed, and more ouer ſo diligent attendaunce through the continual preſence of cunning phiſitians is geuen, that though no man be ſent thether againſt his will, yet notwithſtandinge there is no ſicke perſone in al the citie, that had not rather lye there, then at home in his owne houſe. When the ſtewarde of the ſicke hath receiued ſuche meates as the phiſitians haue preſcribed, then the beſte is equallye deuided among the halles, according to the company of euery one, ſauing that there is had a reſpect to the prince, the byſhop, the tranibours, and to ambaſſadours and all ſtraungers, if there be any, which be verye fewe and ſeldome. But they alſo when they be there, haue certeyne ſeuerall houſes apointed and prepared for them. To theſe halles at ye ſet houres of dinner and ſupper commeth all the whole Siphograuntie or warde, warned by ye noyſe of a braſen trumpet: except ſuche as be ſicke in ye hoſpitalles, or els in their owne houſes. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halles be ſerued, to fetch home meate out of ye market to his own houſe, For they knowe that no man wyl doe it without a cauſe reaſonable. For thoughe no man be prohibited to dyne at home, *yet no* man doth it willyngly: becauſe it is counted a *pointe of* ſmal honeſtie. And alſo it were a follye to

Euery man is at his libertie so that nothing is done by compulsion.

take the payne to dreſſe a badde diner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fyne fare ſo neighe hande at the hall. In this hal al vile ſeruice, all ſlauery, and drudgerie, with all labourſome toyle, and baſe buſines is done by bondemen. But the women of euery family by courſe haue the office and charge of cookerie for ſethinge and dreſſinge the meate, and orderinge all thinges therto belongyng. They ſit at three tables or moe, accordinge to the numbre of their company. The men ſitte vpon the bench next the wall, and the women againſte them on the other ſide of the table, that yf anye ſodeyne euyll ſhould chaunce to them, as many tymes happeneth to women with chylde, they maye riſe wythoute trouble or diſturbaunce of anye bodie, and go thence into the nurcerie. The nurceis ſitte ſeuerall alone with theyr younge ſuckelinges in a certaine parloure appointed and deputed to the ſame purpoſe, neuer withoute fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradels, that when they wyll they maye laye downe the younge infantes, and at theyr pleaſure take them oute of their ſwathynge clothes, and holde them to the fire, and refreſhe them with playe. Euery mother is nource to her owne childe, onles either death, or ſycknes be the let. When that chaunceth, the wiues of the Syphograuntes quyckelye prouyde a nource. And that is not harde to be done. For they that can doo it, profer themſelues to no ſeruice ſo gladlye as to that. Becauſe that there thys kinde of pitie is muche prayſed: and the chylde that is nouriſhed, euer after taketh his nource for his owne naturall mother. Alſo amonge the nourceis, ſytte all the children that be vnder the age of v. yeares. All the other chyldren of bothe kyndes, aſwell boyes as girles, that be vnder the age of maryage, do eyther ſerue at the tables, or els if they be to yonge therto, yet they ſtand by with maruailous ſilence. That whiche is geuen to them from the table they eate, and other ſeuerall

Women bothe dresse and serue the meate.

Nourceis.

Nothing soner prouoketh men to well doyng then praise and commendation.

The education of yonge children.

dynner tyme they haue none. The Siphograunte and his wife ſitte in the myddes of the high table, foraſmuch as that is counted the honorableſt place, and becauſe from thence all the whole companie is in their ſight. For that table ſtandeth ouer wharte the ouer ende of the hall To them be ioyned two of the auncienteſt and eldeſt. For at euerye table they ſit foure at a meeſſe. But yf there be a church ſtanding in yat Syphograuntie or warde, then the prieſt and his wife ſitteth with the Siphograunt, as chiefe in the company. On both ſydes of them ſit yonge men, and nexte vnto them againe olde men. And thus through out all the houſe equall of age be ſette together, and yet be mixt and matched with vnequal ages. This, they ſay, was ordeyned, to the intent that the ſage grauitie and reuerence of the elders ſhould kepe the yongers from wanton licence of wordes and behauioure. Foraſmuch as nothynge can be ſo ſecretlye ſpoken or done at the table, but either they that ſit on the one ſide or on the other muſte nedes perceaue it. The diſhes be not ſet down in order from the firſt place but all the olde men (whoſe places be marked with ſome ſpeciall token to be knowen) be firſt ſerued of their meate, and then the reſidue equally. The olde men deuide their, deinties as they think beſt to the yonger on eche ſyde of them.

The yong mixed with their elders.

Olde men regarded and reuerenced.

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neuertheleſſe equall commoditie commeth to euery one. They begin euerye dinner and ſupper of redinge ſumthing yat perteneth to good maners and vertue. But it is ſhorte, becauſe no man ſhalbe greued therwith. Hereof th[e] elders take occaſion of honeſt communication, but neither ſadde nor vnpleaſaunt. Howbeit they do not ſpende all the whole dinertime themſelues with longe and tedious talkes: but they *gladly* heare alſo the yonge men: yea, and purpoſelye *prouoke* them to talke, to th[e] intent that they may haue

This nowe a daies is obſerued in oure vniuerſities.

Talke at the table.

profe of euery mans wit, and towardnes, or diſpoſition vertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feaſting th ſhew and vtter it ſelf. Their diners be rie ſhort: but their ſuppers be ſumwhat ger, becauſe that after dyner foloweth oure, after ſupper ſlepe and natural reſte, whiche they inke to be of more ſtrength and efficacie to wholſome d healthfull digeſtion. No ſupper is paſſed without uſicke. Nor their bankettes lacke no nceytes nor ionketes. They burne ſwete mmes and ſpices or perfumes, and pleaſaunt elles, and ſprinckle aboute ſwete oyntementes d waters, yea, they leaue nothing vndone that aketh for the cheringe of the companye. For ey be muche enclined to this opinion: to thinke kinde of pleaſure forbydden, whereof mmeth no harme. Thus therfore and er this fort they liue togethers in the citie, t in the countrey they that dwell alone farre from y neighboures, do dyne and ſuppe at home in their vne houſes. For no familie there lacketh any kinde of victualles, as from whom commeth all that the citezens eate and lyue by.

This is repugnaunt to the opinion of our phisitions.

Musick at the table.

Pleasure without harme not discommendable.

¶ Of their iourneyng or trauayling abrode, with diuers other matters cunninglye reasoned, and wyttilye discussed.

BVt if any be deſierous to viſite either theyr frendes dwelling in an other citie, or to ſee the place it ſelfe: they eaſelie obteyne licence of their Siphograuntes and Tranibores, onleſſe there be ſome profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a companie is ſente furth together with their princes letters, which do teſtifie that they haue licence to go that iourney, and preſcribeth alſo the day of their retourne. They haue a wageyn geuen them, with a common bondman, which driueth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But onles they haue women in their companie, they ſende home the wageyn againe, as an impediment and a let. And thoughe they carye nothynge furth with them, yet in all their iorney they lack nothing. For wherſoeuer they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one daye, than there euery one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilly enterteined of the workemen and companies of the ſame craftes. If any man of his owne heade and without leaue, walke out of his precint and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitiue or a runaway with great ſhame and rebuke, and is ſharpely puniſhed. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is puniſhed with bondage. If anye be deſirous to walke abrode into the feldes, or into the countrey yat belongeth to the ſame citie that he dwelleth in, obteininge the good wil of his father, and the conſente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of ye contrei ſoeuer he commeth he hath no

meat geuen him vntil he haue wrought out his fore-nones taſke, or diſpatched ſo muche work, as there is wont to be wrought before ſupper. Obſeruing this law and condition, he may go whether he wil within the boundes of his own citie. For he ſhalbe no les profitable to ye citie, then if he were within it. Now you ſe how litle liberte they haue to loiter: howe they can haue no cloke or pretence to ydlenes. There be neither winetauernes, nor ale houſes, nor ſtewes, nor anye occaſion of vice or wickednes, no lurkinge corners, no places of wycked counſels or vnlawfull aſſembles. But they be in the preſente ſighte, and vnder the eies of euery man. So that of neceſſitie they muſt either apply their accuſtomed labours, or els recreate themſelues with honeſt and laudable paſtimes.

O holy common wealth, and of Christians to be folowed.

This faſhion and trade of life, being vſed amonge the people, it cannot be choſen, but that they muſte of neceſſitie haue ſtore and plentie of all thinges. And ſeyng they be all therof parteners equallie, therefore can no man there be poore or nedie. In the counſell of Amaurot, whether, as I ſaid, euery citie ſendeth three men a pece yearly, aſſone as it is perfectly knowen of what thinges there is in euery place plentie, and againe what thinges be ſkant in any place: incontinent the lacke of the one is perfourmed and filled vp with the aboundaunce of the other. And this they do frely without anye benefite, taking nothing againe of them, to whom ye thinges is giuen, but thoſe cities that haue geuen of their ſtore to any other citie that lacketh, requiring nothing againe of ye ſame citie, do take ſuche thinges as they lacke of an other citie, to the which they gaue nothinge. So the whole ylande is as it were one familie, or houſholde. But when they haue made ſufficient prouiſion of ſtore for themſelues (which they thinke not done, vntil they haue prouided for two yeres folowinge, *becauſe of the* vncertentie of the next yeares

Equalitie is the cause that euery man hath enoughe.

A common wealthe is nothing elles but a great household.

proffe) then of thoſe thinges, wherof they haue abundaunce, they carie furth into other countreis great plentie: as grayne, honnie, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple died felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and lyuinge beaſtes. And the ſeuenth parte of all theſe thynges they geue franckelye and frelie to the pore of that countrey. The reſidewe they ſell at a reaſonable and meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchaundiſe, they bring into their own contrey, not only great plenty of golde and ſiluer, but alſo all ſuche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almoſte nothinge but Iron. And by reaſon they haue longe vſed this trade, nowe they haue more aboundaunce of theſe thinges, then anye man wyll beleue. Nowe therfore they care not whether they ſell for readye money, or els vpon truſte to be payed at a daye, and to haue the mooſte parte in debtes.

The traffique and marchaundiſe of the Utopians.

But in ſo doynge they neuer followe the credence of priuat men: but the aſſuraunce or warrauntiſe of the whole citie, by inſtrumentes and writinges made in that behalfe accordingly. When the daye of paiement is come and expired, the citie gathereth vp the debte of the priuate debtoures, and putteth it into the common boxe, and ſo longe hathe the vſe and profite of it, vntill the Vtopians their creditours demaunde it. The mooſte parte of it they neuer aſke. For that thynge whiche is to them no profite to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no righte nor conſcience. But if the caſe ſo ſtand, that they muſt lende part of that money to an other people, then they require their debte: or when they haue warre. For the whiche purpoſe onelye they kepe at home all the treaſure, whiche they haue, to be holpen and ſocoured by it either in extreame ieopardyes, or in ſuddeine daungers. But eſpeciallye and chiefelie to hiere therewith, and that for vnreaſonable greate wayges, ſtraunge ſoldiours. For they hadde rather put ſtraungers in

In all thinges and aboue all thinges to their communitie thei haue an eye.

By what pollicie money may be in lesse estimation.

ieopardie, then theyr owne countreyemen: knowynge that for money ynoughe, their enemyes themſelues many times may be boughte or ſolde, or elles throughe treaſon be ſette togethers by the eares amonge themſelues. For this cauſe they kepe an ineſtimable treaſure. But yet not as a treaſure: but ſo they haue it, and vſe it, as in good faythe I am aſhamed to ſhewe: fearinge that my woordes ſhall not be beleued. And this I haue more cauſe to feare, for that I knowe howe difficultlie and hardelye I meſelfe would haue beleued an other man tellinge the ſame, if I hadde not preſentlye ſene it with mine owne eyes.

It is better either with money or by pollicie to avoyde warre, then with muche losse of mans bloud to fight.

O fine wytte.

For it muſte neades be, that howe farre a thynge is diſſonaunt and diſagreing from the guiſe and trade of the hearers, ſo farre ſhall it be out of their beleſe. Howebeit, a wiſe and indifferent eſtimer of thynges, will not greatlye marueill perchaunce, ſeynge all theyr other lawes and cuſtomes do ſo muche differre from oures, yf the vſe alſo of gold and ſyluer amonge them be applied, rather to their owne faſhyons, than to oures. I meane in that they occupie not money themſelues, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it maye happen, ſo it maye be, that it ſhall neuer come to paſſe. In the meane time golde and ſyluer, whereof money is made, they do ſo vſe, as none of them doethe more eſteme it, then the verye nature of the thing deſerueth. And then who doeth not playnelye ſe howe farre it is vnder Iron: as without the whiche men can no better lyue then without fiere and water. Whereas to golde and ſiluer nature hath geuen no vſe, that we may not well lacke: if that the follye of men hadde not ſette it in higher eſtimation for the rareneſſe ſake. But of the contrarie parte, nature as a mooſte tender and louynge mother, hathe placed the beſte and mooſte neceſſarie thinges open abroade: as the ayere, the water, and *the yearth it ſelfe.* And hathe remoued and hyd fax-

Golde worse then yron as touchynge the neceſſarie vſe therof.

theſt from vs vayne and vnprofitable thinges. Therefore if theſe metalles amonge them ſhoulde be faſte locked vp in ſome tower, it might be ſuſpected, that the prince and the counſell (as the people is euer fooliſhelie ymagininge) intended by ſome ſubtiltie to deceaue the commons, and to take ſome profite of it to themſelues. Furthermore if they ſhold make therof plate and ſuch other finelie and cunninglie wroughte ſtuffe: if at anye time they ſhould haue occaſion to breake it: and melte it againe, therewith to paye their ſouldiers wages, they ſee and perceaue verye well, that men woulde be lothe to parte from thoſe thinges, that they ones begonne to haue pleaſure and delite in. To remedie all this they haue founde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agreable to all their other lawes and customes, ſo it is from ours, where golde is ſo much ſet by, and ſo diligently kept, very farre diſcripant and repugnaunt: and therfore vncredible, but onelye to them that be wiſe. For where as they eate and drinke in earthen and glaſſe veſſelles, whiche in dede be curiouſlye and properlie made, and yet be of very ſmall value: of golde and ſyluer they make commonly chaumber pottes, and other veſſelles, that ſerue for moſte vile vſes, not onely in their common halles, but in euery mans priuate houſe. Furthermore of the ſame mettalles they make greate chaines, fetters, and gieues wherin the[y] tie their bondmen. Finally whoſoeuer for anye offenſe be infamed, by their eares hange rynges of golde: vpon their fyngers they weare rynges of golde, and aboute their neckes chaines of golde: and in concluſion their heades be tied aboute with gold. Thus by al meanes poſſible thei procure to haue golde and ſiluer among them in reproche and infamie. And theſe mettalles, which other nations do as greuouſly and ſorowefullye forgo, as in a manner their owne liues: if they ſhould altogethers at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had loſt the worth of one farthing. They ga-

O wonderfull contumelie of golde.

Golde the reprochful badge of infamed persons.

ther alſo pearles by the ſea ſide, and Diamondes and carbuncles vpon certen rockes, and yet they ſeke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and poliſh them. And therwith thei deck their yonge infauntes. Whiche like as in the firſt yeres of their childhod, they make muche and be fonde and proude of ſuch ornamentes, ſo when they be a litle more growen in yeares and diſcretion, perceiuing that none but children do weare ſuch toies and trifels: they lay them awaye euen of their owne ſhameſaſteneſſe, wythoute anye byddynge of their parentes: euen as oure chyldren, when they waxe bygge, doo caſte awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Therfore theſe lawes and cuſtomes, whiche be ſo farre differente from al other nations, howe diuers fantaſies alſo and myndes they doo cauſe, dydde I neuer ſo playnelie perceaue, as in the Ambaſſadours of the Anemolians.

Gemmes and precious stones, toyes for yonge children to playe withall.

Theſe Ambaſſadoures came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And becauſe they came to entreate of great and weightie matters, thoſe three citizens a pece oute of euerie citie were comen thether before them. But all the Ambaſſadours of the nexte countreis, whiche had bene there before, and knewe the faſhions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whom they perceaued no honoure geuen to ſumptuous apparell, ſilkes to be contemned, golde alſo to be infamed and reprochful, were wont to come thether in verie homelye and ſimple araie. But the Anemolianes becauſe they dwell farre thence, and had very litle a[c]quaintaunce with them: hearinge that they were all apparelled a like, and that verie rudely and homely: thinkinge them not to haue the thinges whiche they did not weare: being therfore more proude, then wiſe: determyned in the gorgiouſnes of their apparel to repreſente verye goddes, and wyth the brighte ſhyninge and gliſterynge of their gay clothing to daſell the eyes of the ſilie poore Utopians. So there came in. iii. Ambaſſadours *with. c. [an hundred]* ſeruauntes all apparelled in

A very pleasaunt tale.

chaungeable colours: the moſte of them in ſilkes: the Ambaſſadours themſelves (for at home in their owne countrey they were noble men) in cloth of gold, with great cheines of gold, with golde hanginge at their eares, with gold ringes upon their fingers, with brouches and aglettes of gold vpon their cappes, which gliſtered ful of peerles and precious ſtones: to be ſhort trimmed, and adourned with al thoſe thinges, which among the Utopians were either the puniſhement of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed perſones, or elles trifels for yonge children to playe withal. Therefore it wolde haue done a man good at his harte to haue ſene howe proudelye they diſpleyed theire pecockes fethers, howe muche they made of theire paynted ſheathes, and howe loftely they ſet forth and aduaunced them ſelfes, when they compared their gallaunte apparrell with the poore rayment of the Utopians. For al the people were ſwarmed forth into the ſtretes. And on the other ſide it was no leſſe pleaſure to conſider howe muche they were deceaued, and how farre they miſſed of their purpoſe being contrary wayes taken, then they thought they ſhould haue bene. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreys for ſome reſonable cauſe, al that gorgeouſnes of apparrel ſeemed ſhameſull and reprocheful. In ſo muche that they moſt reuerently ſaluted the vileſt and moſt abiect of them for lordes: paſſing ouer the Ambaſſadoures themſelfes without any honour: iudging them by their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondmen. Yea you ſhoulde haue ſene children alſo, that had caſte away their peerles and pretious ſtones, when they ſawe the like ſticking vpon the Ambaſſadours cappes: digge and puſhe theire mothers vnder the ſides, ſainge thus to them. Loke mother how great a lubbor doth yet were peerles and precious ſtoones, as though he were a litel child ſtil. But the mother, yea and that alſo in good earneſt: peace ſone, ſaithe ſhe: I thinke he be ſome of the Ambaſſadours fooles. Some ſounde ſaulte at theire

O wittie head.

golden cheines, as to no vſe nor purpoſe, being ſo ſmal and weake, that a bondeman might eaſely breake them, and agayne ſo wyde and large, that when it pleaſed him, he myght caſt them of, and runne awaye at libertye whether he woulde. But when the Ambaſſadoures hadde bene there a daye or. ii. and ſawe ſo greate abundaunce of gold ſo lyghtely eſteimed, yea in no leſſe reproche, then it was with them in honour: and beſides that more golde in the cheines and gieues of one fugitiue bondman, then all the coſtelye ornamentes of them. iii. was worth: they beganne to abate their courage, and for very ſhame layde away al that gorgyouſe arraye, whereof they were ſo proud. And ſpecyally when they had talked familiarlye with the Utopians, and had learned al theire faſſions and opinions.

For they marueyle that any men be ſo folyſhe, as to haue delite and pleaſure in the doubteful gliſteringe of a lytil tryffelynge ſtone, which maye beholde annye of the ſtarres, or elles the ſonne it ſelfe. Or that anye man is ſo madde, as to count him ſelfe the nobler for the ſmaller or fyner threde of wolle, which ſelfe ſame wol (be it now in neuer ſo fyne a ſponne threde) a ſhepe did ones weare: and yet was ſhe all that time no other thing then a ſhepe. They marueile alſo that golde, whych of the owne nature is a thinge ſo vnprofytable, is nowe amonge all people in ſo hyghe eſtimation, that man him ſelfe, by whome, yea and for the vſe of whome it is ſo much ſet by, is in muche leſſe eſtimation, then the golde it ſelfe. In ſo muche that a lumpyſhe blockehedded churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte then an aſſe, yea and as ful of noughtynes as of follye, ſhall haue neuertheles manye wyſe and good men in ſubiectyon and bondage, only for this, bycauſe he hath a greate heape of golde. Whyche yf it ſhoulde be taken from hym by anye fortune, or by ſome ſubtyll wyle and cautele of the lawe, (whyche no leſſe then *fortune dothe bothe* raiſe vp the lowe, and plucke

Doubteful he calleth it, either in conſideration and reſpecte of counterfeite ſtones, or elles he calleth doubteful very littel worthe.

A true saing and a wittie.

downe the highe) and be geuen to the moſte vile ſlaue and abiect dryuell of all his houſholde, then ſhortely after he ſhal goo into the ſeruice of his ſeruaunt, as an augmentation nor ouerplus beſide his money. But they muche more maruell at and deteſt the madnes of them, whyche to thoſe riche men, in whoſe debte and daunger they be not, do giue almoſt diuine honoures, for none other conſideration, but bicauſe they be riche: and yet knowing them to bee ſuche nigeſhe penny fathers, that they be ſure as longe as they liue, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold ſhall come to them.

Howe muche more witte is in the heades of the Utopianes then of the common ſorte of christianes.

Theſe and ſuch like opinions haue they conceaued, partely by education, beinge brought vp in that common wealth, whoſe lawes and cuſtomes be farre different from theſe kindes of folly, and partely by good litterature and learning. For though there be not many in euery citie, which be exempte and diſcharged of all other laboures, and appointed only to learning, that is to ſaye: ſuche in whome euen from theire very childhode they haue perceaued a ſingular towardnes, a fyne witte, and a minde apte to good learning: yet all in their childhode be inſtructe in learninge. And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women throughe oute all their whole lyffe doo beſtowe in learninge thoſe ſpare houres, which we ſayde they haue vacante from bodelye laboures. They be taughte learninge in theire owne natyue tong. For it is bothe copious in woordes, and alſo pleaſaunte to the eare: and for the vtteraunce of a mans minde very perfecte and ſure. The mooſte parte of all that ſyde of the worlde vſeth the ſame langage, ſauinge that amonge the Utopians it is ſyneſte and pureſte, and accordinge to the diuerſytye of the countreys it is dyuerſlye alterede. Of all theſe Philoſophers, whoſe names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to vs knowen, before oure cummynge thether not aſmuche as the fame of anye of

The studies and literature amonge the Utopianes.

them was cumen amonge them. And yet in Muſike, Logike, Arythmetyke, and Geometrye they haue founde oute in a manner all that oure auncient Philoſophers haue tawghte. But as they in all thinges be almoſte equal to oure olde auncyente clerkes, ſo oure newe Logiciens in ſubtyl inuentions haue farre paſſed and gone beyonde them. For they haue not deuyſed one of all thoſe rules of reſtrictions, amplifications and ſuppoſitions, verye wittelye inuented in the ſmall Logicalles, whyche heare oure children in euery place do learne. Furtheremore they were neuer yet hable to fynde out the ſeconde intentions: inſomuche that none of them all coulde euer ſee man himſelfe in commen, as they cal him, thoughe he be (as you knowe) bygger than euer was annye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of vs euen wyth our fynger. But they be in the courſe of the ſtarres, and the mouynges of the heauenly ſpheres verye expert and cunnynge. They haue alſo wittely excogitated and diuiſed inſtrumentes of diuers faſſions: wherein is exactly comprehended and conteyned the mouynges and ſituations of the ſonne, the mone, and of al the other ſtarres, which appere in theire horizon. But as for the amityes and diſſentions of the planettes, and all that deceyteful diuination by the ſtarres, they neuer aſmuch as dreamed thereof. Raynes, windes, and other courſes of tempeſtes they knowe before by certeine tokens, which they haue learned by long vſe and obſeruation. But of the cauſes of al theſe thinges and of the ebbinge, flowinge, and ſaltenes of the ſea, and finallye of the original begynnynge and nature of heauen and of the worlde, they holde partelye the ſame opinions that oure olde Philoſophers hold, and partely, as our Philoſophers varye among themſelfes, ſo they alſo, whiles they bringe newe reaſons of thinges, do diſagree from all them, and yet among themſelfes in all *poyntes they doe* not accorde. In that part of Phi-

Musike
Logike.
Arythemetike
Geometrie

In this place semethe to be a nipping taunte.

Astronomie.

Yet amonge christians this geere is highli estemed thies daies.

Naturall philosophie is a knowledge most vncertein.

Moral philosophie.

losophie, which intreateth of manners and vertue, theire reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualityes of the sowle, of the body, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onlye to the endowments and giftes of the soule.

The order of good thinges.

They reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consistethe. But in this poynte they seme almooste to muche geuen and enclyned to the opinion of them, which defende pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefyste parte of mans felicitye to reste. And (whyche is more to bee marueled at) the defense of this soo deyntye and delicate an opinion, they fetche euen from theire graue, sharpe, bytter, and rygorous religion. For they neuer dispute of felicity or blessednes, but they ioyne vnto the reasons of Philosophye certeyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche to the inuestigation of trewe felicitye they thynke reason of it selfe weake and vnperfecte. Those principles be these and such lyke. That the soule is immortal: and by ye bountiful goodnes of God ordeined to felicitie. That to our vertues and good deades rewardes be appointed after this life, and to our euel deades punishmentes. Though these be perteyning to religion, yet they thincke it mete that they shoulde be beleued and graunted by proses of reason. But yf these principles were condempned and dysanulled, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so foolish, whiche woulde not do all his diligence and endeuoure to obteyne pleasure be ryght or wronge, onlye auoydynge this inconuenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hinderaunce to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that

The endes of good thinges.

The Utopianes holde opynion that felycytie consistethe in honest pleasure.

The principles of philosophye grounded vpon religion.

The theologie of the Utopianes.

The immortalitie of the soule, wherof these dayes certeine Christianes be in doubte.

eaſure, whiche would bringe after it dis- As euery pleasure ought not to be inhaunced so greſe is not to be pursued but for vertues sake.
eaſure, greeſe, and ſorrow. For they
lge it extreame madnes to ſolowe ſharpe
d peinſul vertue, and not only to banniſhe
pleaſure of liſe, but alſo willingly to ſuffer
iefe, without anye hope of proffit thereof enſuinge. For
iat proffit can there be, if a man, when he hath paſſed
er all his lyſe vnpleaſauntly, that is to ſay, miſerablye,
ill haue no rewarde after his death? But nowe ſyr
ey thinke not felicitie to reſte in all pleaſure, but only in
it pleaſure that is good and honeſte, and that hereto,
to perſet bleſſednes our nature is allured and drawen
en of vertue, whereto onlye they that be of the con-
ry opinion do attribute felicitie. For they define
rtue to be life ordered according to nat- In this definition of vertue they agre with the Stoicians.
e, and that we be here vnto ordeined of
d. And that he dothe followe the courſe
nature, which in deſiering and refuſinge thinges is
ed by reaſon. Furthermore that reaſon
th chiefely and principallye kendle in The worke and effecte of reason in man.
n the loue and veneration of the deuine
ieſtie. Of whoſe goodnes it is that we be, and that
be in poſſibilitie to attayne felicite. And that ſe-
ndarely it bothe ſtirrethe and prouoketh vs to leade
r lyſe oute of care in ioy and mirth, and alſo moueth
to helpe and further all other in reſpecte of ye ſociete
nature to obteine and enioye ye ſame. For there
s neuer man ſo earneſt and paineful a follower of
rtue and hater of pleaſure, yat wold ſo inioyne you
oures, watchinges, and faſtinges, but he would alſo
hort you to eaſe, lighten, and relieue, to your powre,
lack and miſery of others, prayſing the ſame as a
de of humanitie, and pitie. Then if it be a poynte
humanitie for man to bring health and comforte to
n, and ſpeciallye (which is a vertue moſte peculiarlye
longing to man) to mitigate and aſſuage the greiſe of
hers, and by takyng from them the ſorowe and heuy-
s of lyſe, to reſtore them to ioye, that is to ſaye to
eaſure: whie maye it not then be ſayd, that nature

doth prouoke euerye man to doo the ſame to himſelfe? For a ioyfull lyfe, that is to ſay, a pleaſaunt lyfe is either euel: and if it be ſo, then thou ſhouldeſt not onlye helpe no man therto, but rather, as much as in the lieth, withdrawe all men frome it, as noyſome and hurteful, or els if thou not only mayſte, but alſo of dewty art bound to procure it to others, why not chiefely to the ſelfe? To whome thou art bound to ſhew aſmuch ſauoure and gentelnes as to other. For when nature biddeth the to be good and gentle to other ſhe commaundeth the not to be cruell and vngentle to the ſelfe. Therefore euen very nature (ſaye they) preſcribeth to vs a ioyful lyfe, that is to ſay, pleaſure as the ende of all oure operations. And they define vertue to be lyfe ordered accordynge to the preſcripte of nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and prouoke men one to healpe another to lyue merily (which ſuerly ſhe doth not without a good cauſe: for no man is ſo farre aboue the lotte of mans ſtate or condicion, that nature dothe carke and care for hym onlye, whiche equallye ſauourethe all, that be comprehended vnder the communion of one ſhape forme and faſſion) verely ſhe commaundeth the to vſe diligent circumſpection, that thou do not ſo ſeke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore theire opinion is, that not only couenauntes and bargaynes made amonge priuate men ought to be well and faythefullye fulfilled, obſerued, and kepte, but alſo commen lawes, whiche either a good prince hath iuſtly publyſhed, or els the people neither oppreſſed with tyrannye, neither deceaued by fraude and gyell, hath by theire common conſent conſtituted and ratifyed, concerninge the particion of the commodities of lyfe, that is to ſay, the matter of pleaſure. Theſe lawes not offended, it is wyſdome, that thou looke to thine owne

But nowe a daies some ther bee that wyllinglye procure vnto themselues painefull griefes, as thoughe therin rested some hieghe pointe of religion, whereas rather the religiously disposed person, yf they happen to him either by chaunce or elles by naturall necessitie, ought pacientlye to receaue and suffer them.

Bargaynes and Lawes.

wealthe. And to doe the ſame for the common wealth is no leſſe then thy duetie, if thou beareſt any reuerent loue, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy natiue countreye. But to go about to let an other man of his pleaſure, whiles thou procureſt thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyſe to withdrawe ſomethinge from the ſelfe to geue to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche neuer taketh awaye ſo muche commoditie, as it bringethe agayne. For it is recompenſed with the retourne of benefytes, and the conſcience of the good dede, with the remembraunce of the thankefull loue and beneuolence of them to whom thou haſt done it, doth bringe more pleaſure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou haſt withholden from thy ſelfe could haue brought to thy bodye. Finallye (which to a godly diſpoſed and a religious mind is eaſy to be perſuaded) God recompenſeth the gifte of a ſhort and ſmal pleaſure with great and euerlaſtinge ioye. Therfore the matter diligently weyede and conſidered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themſelſes be referred at the laſt to pleaſure, as their ende and felicitie. Pleaſure they call euery motion and ſtate of the bodie or mynde, wherin man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they ioyne to nature, and that not without a good cauſe. For like as, not, only the ſenſes, but alſo right reaſon coueteth whatſoeuer is naturally pleaſaunt, for yat it may be gotten without wrong or iniurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleaſure, nor cauſing paintul labour, euen ſo thoſe thinges that men by vaine ymagination do fayne againſt nature to be pleaſaunt (as though it laye in their power to chaunge ye thinges, as they do ye names of thinges) al ſuche pleaſures they beleue to be of ſo ſmall helpe and furtheraunce to felicitie, that they counte them a great let and hinderaunce. Becauſe that in whom they haue ones taken place, all his mynde they poſſeſſe with a falſe opinion of pleaſure. So that there is no place left for true and

The mutual recourse of kindnes.

The definition of Pleasure.

False and counterfeate pleasures.

naturall delectations. For there be many thinges, which of their owne nature conteyne no pleſauntnes: yea the moſte parte of them muche griefe and ſorrowe. And yet throughe the peruerſe and malicyous flickeringe inticementes of lewde and vnhoneſte deſyres, be taken not only for ſpeciall and ſouereigne pleaſures, but alſo be counted amonge the chiefe cauſes of life. In this counterfeat kinde of pleaſure they put them that I ſpake of before. Whiche the better gownes they haue on, the better men they thinke them ſelfes. In the which thing they doo twyſe erre. For they be no leſſe deceaued in that they thinke theire gowne the better, than they be, in that they thinke themſelfes the better For if you conſider the profitable vſe of the garmente, whye ſhould wulle of a fyner ſponne threde, be thoug[h]t better, than the wul of a courſe ſponne threde? Yet they, as though the one did paſſe the other by nature, and not by their miſtakyng, auaunce themſelfes, and thinke the price of their owne perſones thereby greatly encreaſed. And therefore the honour, which in a courſe gowne they durſte not haue loked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for theyr fyner gownes ſake. And if they be paſſed by without reuerence, they take it diſpleaſauntly and diſdainfullye.

The errour of them that esteme themselfes the more for apparelles sake.

Folish honore.

And agayne is it not lyke madnes to take a pryde in vayne and vnprofitable honours? For what naturall or trewe pleaſure doeſt thou take of an other mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this eaſe the paine of thy knees, or remedie the phrenſie of thy hede? In this ymage of counterfeite pleaſure, they be of a maruelous madneſſe, whiche for the opinion of nobilitie, reioyſe muche in their owne conceyte. Becauſe it was their fortune to come of ſuche auncetoures, whoſe ſtocke of longe tyme hathe bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothing elles) ſpeciallye riche in landes. And though their auncetours left them not one foote of lande, or els they themſelues haue pyſſed it agaynſte the walles, yet

Vaine nobilitie.

they thinke themſelues not the leſſe noble therfore of one heare. In this number alſo they counte them that take pleaſure and delite (as I ſaid) in gemmes and precious ſtones, and thynke themſelues almoſte goddes, if they chaunce to gette an excellente one, ſpeciallye of that kynde, whiche in that tyme of their own countre men, is had in hygheſt eſtimation. For one kynde of ſtone kepeth not his pryce ſtyll in all countreis, and at all times. Nor they bye them not, but taken out of the golde, and bare: no nor ſo neither, vntyll they haue made the ſeller to ſweare, that he will warraunte and aſſure it to be a true ſtone, and no counterfeit gemme. Suche care they take leſt a counterfeite ſtone ſhould deceaue their eyes in ſteade of a ryghte ſtone. But why ſhouldeſt thou not take euen aſmuche pleaſure in beholdynge a counterfeite ſtone, whiche thine eye cannot diſcerne from a righte ſtone? They ſhoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee, euen as to the blynde man. What ſhall I ſaye of them, that kepe ſuperfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholdinge, and not in the vſe or occupiynge thereof? Do they take trew pleaſure, or elles be thei deceaued with falſe pleaſure? Or of them that be in a contrarie vice, hidinge the gold whiche they ſhall neuer occupye, nor peraduenture neuer ſe more? And whiles they take care leaſte they ſhall leeſe it, do leeſe it in dede. For what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground, takynge it bothe from their owne vſe, and perchaunce frome all other mennes alſo? And yet thou, when thou haſte hydde thy treaſure, as one out of all care, hoppeſt for ioye. The whiche treaſure, yf it ſhoulde chaunce to bee ſtolen. and thou ignoraunt of the theſte ſhouldeſt dye tenne years after: all that tenne yeares ſpace that thou lyuedeſt after thy money was ſtoolen, what matter was it to thee, whether *it hadde bene taken* awaye or elles ſafe as thou leſteſte

Pleasure in precious stones most folish.

The opinion and fansie of people doeth augment and diminishe the price and estimation of precious stones.

Beholders of treasure, not occupiyng the same.

Hyders of treasure.

A prettie fiction and a wittie.

it? Trewlye both wayes like profytte came to thee. To theſe ſo foolyſhe pleaſures they ioyne dicers, whoſe madneſſe they knowe by hearſay, and not by vſe. Hunters alſo, and hawkers. For what pleaſure is there (ſay they) in caſtinge the dice vpon a table. Which thou haſt done ſo often, that if there wer any pleaſure in it, yet the oft vſe might make thee werie thereof? Or what delite can there be, and not rather dyſpleaſure in hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges? Or what greater pleaſure is there to be felte, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thinge is done in bothe, that is to ſaye, runnynge, yf thou haſte pleaſure therin. But yf the hope of ſlaughter, and the expectation of tearynge in peces the beaſte doth pleaſe thee: thou ſhouldeſt rather be moued with pitie to ſee a ſelye innocente hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the ſtronger, the fearefull of the fearce, the innocente of the cruell and vnmercyfull. Therefore all thys exercyſe of huntynge, as a thynge vnworthye to be vſed of free men, the Utopians haue reiected to their bouchers to the whiche craſte (as we ſayde before) they appointe their bondemen. For they counte huntynge the loweſt, the vyleſte, and mooſte abiecte part of boucherie, and the other partes of it more profitable, and more honeſte, as bryngynge muche more commoditie, in that they kyll beaſtes onely for neceſſitie. Where as the hunter ſeketh nothinge but pleaſure of the ſeelye and wofull beaſtes ſlaughter and murder. The whiche pleaſure in beholdinge deathe, they thinke doeth riſe in the very beaſtes, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be chaunged in continuaunce of time into crueltie, by longe vſe of ſo cruell a pleaſure. Theſe therfore and all ſuche like, whiche be innumerable, though the common ſorte of people doth take them for pleaſures, yet they, ſeing there is no natural pleaſauntnes in them, do playnly determine them to haue no affinitie with trew and right

Dice playe.

Huntinge and hawkinge.

Hunting the basest parte of bouchers among the Utopians, and yet this is nowe the exercise of most noble men.

pleaſure. For as touchinge that they do commonlye moue the ſenſe with delectation (whiche ſemeth to be a woorke of pleaſure) this doeth nothynge diminiſhe their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their peruerſe and lewde cuſtome is the cauſe hereof. Whiche cauſeth them to accept bitter or ſowre thynges for ſwete thynges. Euen as women with child in their viciate and corrupte taſte, thynke pytche and tallowe ſweter then any honey. Howbeit no mannes iudgemente deprauedand corrupte, either by ſyckenes, or by cuſtome, can chaunge the nature of pleaſure, more then it can do the nature of other thinges. They make diuers kindes of pleaſures. For ſome they attribute to the ſoule, and ſome to the body. To the ſoule they geue intelligence, and that delectation, that commethe of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is ioyned the pleaſaunte remembraunce of the good lyfe paſte. The pleaſure of the bodye they deuide into ii. partes. The firſt is when delectation is ſenſibly felt and perceaued. Whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreſhing of thoſe partes, whiche oure naturall heate drieth vp. This commeth by meate and drynke. And ſometymes whyles thoſe thynges be expulſed, and voyded, wherof is in the body ouer great abundaunce. This pleaſure is felt, when we do our natural eaſement, or when we be doyng the acte of generation, or when the ytchinge of any part is eaſed with rubbyng or ſcratchynge. Sometimes pleaſure riſeth exhibitinge to any membre nothynge that it deſireth, nor takynge from it any paine that it feeleth, which neuertheleſſe tikleth and moueth oure ſenſes wyth a certeine ſecrete efficacie, but with a manifeſt motion turnethe them to it. As is that whiche commeth of muſicke. The ſeconde parte of bodely pleaſure they ſay, is that which conſiſteth and reſteth in the quiete, and vpryghte ſtate of the bodye. And that trewlye is euerye mannes *owne propre* health entermingled and dis-

The kindes of trew pleasures.

The pleasures of the bodye.

Bodily health.

turbed with no griefe. For this, yf it be not letted nor aſſaulted with no greif, is delectable of it ſelfe, thoughe it be moued with no externall or outwarde pleaſure. For though it be not ſo plain and manyfeſte to the ſenſe, as the gredye luſte of eatynge and drynkynge, yet neuertheleſſe manye take it for the chiefeſte pleaſure. All the Utopians graunt it to be a right ſouereigne pleaſure, and as you woulde ſaye the foundation and grounde of all pleaſures, as whiche euen alone is hable to make the ſtate and condition of life delectable and pleaſaunt. And it beyng once taken awaye, there is no place leſte for any pleaſure. For to be without greife not hauinge health, that they call vnſenſibilitie, and not pleaſure. The Utopians haue long a go reiected and condempned the opinion of them, whiche ſayde that ſtedfaſte and quiete healthe (for this queſtion alſo hathe bene diligently debated amonge them) oughte not therfore to be counted a pleaſure, bycauſe they ſaye it can not be preſentlye and ſenſiblye perceaued and felte by ſome outwarde motion. But of the contrarie parte nowe they agree almooſte all in this, that healthe is a mooſt ſoueraigne pleaſure. For ſeynge that in ſyckneſſe (ſaye they) is greiffe, whiche is a mortal enemie to pleaſure, euen as ſickneſs is to health, why ſhould not then pleaſure be in the quietnes of health? For they ſay it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you ſaye that ſyckneſſe is a griefe, or that in ſickenes is griefe, for all commethe to one purpoſe. For whether health be a pleaſure it ſelfe, or a neceſſary cauſe of pleaſure, as fier is of heate, truelye bothe waye it foloweth, that they cannot be withoute pleaſure, that be in perfect helth. Furthermore whiles we eat (ſay they) then healthe, whiche beganne to be appayred, fighteth by the helpe of foode againſte hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by litle and litle getteth the vpper hande, that ſame procedyng, and (as ye would ſay) that onwardnes to the wonte ſtrength miniſtreth that pleaſure, whereby we be ſo refreſhed. Health therfore, whiche in the conflict is ioyefull, ſhall it not be merye, when it

hath gootten the victorie? But as ſoone as it hathe recouered the priſtinate ſtrength, which thing onely in all the fight it coueted, ſhal it incontinent be aſtonied? Nor ſhal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealthe and goodnes? For where it is ſaid, healthe can not be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew. For what man wakyng, ſay they, felethe not himſelfe in health: but he that is not? Is there anye man ſo poſſeſſed with ſtoniſhe inſenſibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to ſay, the ſleping ſicknes, that he will not graunt healthe to be acceptable to him, and delectable? Delectation. But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleaſure? They imbrace chieflie the pleaſures of the mind. The pleasures of the mynde. For them they counte the chiefiſt and moſt principall of all. The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exerciſe of vertue, and conſcience of good life. Of theſe pleaſures that the body miniſtreth, they geue ye preeminence to helth. For the delite of eating and drinking, and whatſoeuer hath any like pleaſauntnes, they determyne to be pleaſures muche to be deſired, but no other wayes than for healthes ſake. For ſuche thinges of their own proper nature be not ſo pleaſaunt, but in that they reſiſte ſickeneſſe priuelie ſtealing on. Therfore like as it is a wiſe mans part, rather to auoid ſicknes, then to wiſhe for medicines, and rather to driue away and put to flight carefull griefes, then to call for comfort: ſo it is muche better not to neade this kinde of pleaſure, then thereby to be eaſed of the contrarie griefe. The whiche kinde of pleaſure, yf anye man take for his felicitie, that man muſt nedes graunt, that then he ſhalbe in moſt felicitie, if he liue that life, which is led in continuall hunger, thurſte, itchinge, eatinge, drynkynge, ſcratchynge, and rubbing. The which life how not only foule, and vnhoneſt, but alſo howe miſerable, and wretched it is, who perceueth not? Theſe doubtles be the baſeſt pleaſures of al, as vnpure and vnperfect. For they neuer come, but accompanied with their contrarie

griefes. As with the pleaſure of eating is ioyned hunger, and yat after no very egal ſort. For of theſe. ii. ye griefe is both the more vehement, and alſo of longer continuaunce. For it beginneth before the pleaſure, and endeth not vntil the pleaſure die with it. Wherefore ſuche pleaſures they thinke not greatlye to be ſet by, but in yat thei be neceſſari. Howbeit they haue delite alſo in theſe, and thankfulli knowledge ye tender loue of mother nature, which with moſt pleaſaunt delectation allureth her children to that, to the neceſſarie vſe wherof they muſt from time to time continually be forced and driuen. For how wretched and miſerable ſhould our life be, if theſe dailie greffes of hunger and thurſt coulde not be driuen awaye, but with bitter potions, and ſower medicines, as the other diſeaſes be, wherewith we be ſeldomer troubled? But beutie, ſtrengthe, nemblenes, theſe as peculiar and pleaſaunt giftes of nature they make muche of. But thoſe pleaſures that be receaued by the eares, the eyes, and the noſe, whiche nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other liuinge creature doth behold the fairenes and the bewtie of the worlde, or is moued with any reſpecte of ſauours, but onely for the diuerſitie of meates, neither perceaueth the concordaunte and diſcordant diſtaunces of ſoundes, and tunes) theſe pleaſures, I ſay, they accept and alowe as certen pleaſaunte reioyſinges of life. But in all thinges this cautel they vſe, that a leſſe pleaſure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleaſure be no cauſe of diſpleaſure, whiche they thinke to folow of neceſſitie, if the pleaſure be vnhoneſte. But yet to diſpiſe the comlines of bewtie, to waſt the bodelie ſtrength, to turne nimblenes into ſloughiſhneſſe, to conſume and make feble the bodie with faſtinge, to do iniurie to healthe, and to reiecte the pleaſaunte motions of nature, onles a man neglecte theſe commodities, whiles he dothe with a feruent zeale procure the wealthe of others, or the commen profite, for the whiche pleaſure forborne, he is in hoope of a greater

The giftes of nature.

aſure at goddes hande, elles for a vaine ſhaddow of
tue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to pun-
: himſelfe, or to the intente he maye be hable cour-
iouſlie to ſuffer aduerſitie: which perchaunce ſhall
ier come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of
reame madnes, and a token of a man cruellye
nded towardes himſelfe, and vnkind towards nature,
one ſo diſdaining to be in her daunger, that he re-
inceth and refuſeth all her benefites.

This is their ſentence and opinion of vertue and
aſure. And they beleue that by mans reaſon none
i be found trewer then this, onles any Marke this well.
llyer be inſpired into man from heuen.
ierin whether they beleue well or no neither the
ie doth ſuffer vs to diſcuſſe neither it is nowe neces-
ie. For we haue taken vpon vs to ſhewe and declare
ir lores and ordinaunces, and not to defende them.
t this thynge I beleue verely: howe ſoeuer theſe
eres be, that there is in no place of the world,
ther a more excellent people, neither a more
uriſhynge commen wealth. They be lyghte and
icke of bodie, full of actiuitie and nimble- The wealthe and description of the Utopians.
s, and of more ſtrength then a man
uulde iudge them by their ſtature, which
all that is not to lowe. And thoughe theyr ſoyle be
t verie frutefull, nor their aier very wholſome, yet
ainſte the ayer they ſo defende them with temperate
ete, and ſo order and huſbande their grounde with
igente trauaile, that in no countrey is greater in-
eaſe, and plentye of corne and cattell, nor mens
dies of longer lyfe, and ſubiect or apte to fewer diſ-
ſes. There therfore a man maye ſee well, and dili-
ntlie exploited and furniſhed, not onelye thoſe thinges
iiche huſbandemen do commenly in other countreis,
by craft and cunninge to remedie the barrennes o
e grounde: but alſo a whole wood by the handes of
e people plucked vp by the rootes in one place, and ſet
aine in an other place. Wherein was had regard
d conſideration, not of plenty, but of commodious

carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the ſea, or the riuers, or, ye cities. For it is leſſe labour and buſineſſe to carri grayne farre by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merie, quicke, and fyne witted, delitinge in quietnes, and when nede requireth, hable to abide and ſuffer much bodelie labour. Els they be not greatly deſirous and fond of it: but in the exerciſe and ſtudie of the mind they be neuer wery. When they had herd me ſpeak of ye greke literature or lerning (for in latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly alow, beſides hiſtoriens and Poetes) they made wonderfull earneſte and importunate ſute vnto me that I would teach and inſtructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade vnto them, at the firſt truelie more bicauſe I would not ſeme to refuſe the labour, then that I hooped that they would any thing profite therein. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaued incontinente by their diligence, that my labour ſhould not be beſtowed in vaine. For they began ſo eaſelie to faſhion their letters, ſo plainlie to pronounce the woordes, ſo quickelie to learne by hearte, and ſo fuerlie to rehearſe the ſame, that I maruailed at it, ſauinge that the moſt parte of them were fine, and choſen wittes and of ripe age, piked oute of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but alſo by the commaundemente of the counſell, vndertoke to learne this langage. Therefore in leſſe then thre yeres ſpace there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute anie ſtaye, if the booke were not falſe. This kynde of learninge, as I ſuppoſe, they toke ſo muche the ſooner, bycauſe, it is ſumwhat allyaunte to them. For I thinke that this nation tooke their beginninge of the Grekes, bicauſe their ſpeche, which in al other poyntes is not much vnlyke the *Perſian* tonge, kepeth dyuers ſignes and tokens of the

The vtilitie of the greke tonge.

A wonderfull aptnes to learninge in the Utopians.

But now most blockheded asses be sette to learninge, and most pregnaunt wittes corrupt with pleasures

greke langage in the names of their cityes, and of theire magiſtrates. They haue of me (for when I was determyned to entre into my. iiii. voyage, I caſte into the ſhippe in the ſteade of marchandiſe a prety fardel of bookes, bycauſe I intended to come againe rather neuer, than ſhortly) they haue, I ſaye, of me the moſte parte of Platoes workes, more of Ariſtotles, alſo Theophraſtus of plantes, but in diuers places (which I am ſorye for) vnperfecte. For whiles we were a ſhipborde, a marmoſet chaunced vpon the booke, as it was negligentlye layde by, which wantonlye playinge therewyth plucked oute certeyne leaues, and toore them in pieces. Of them that haue wrytten the grammer, they haue onelye Laſcaris. For Theodorus I caried not wyth me, nor neuer a dictionayre, but Heſichius, and Dioſcorides. They ſett greate ſtoore by Plutarches bookes. And they be delyted wyth Lucianes mery conceytes and ieſtes. Of the Poetes they haue Ariſtophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus ſmall prynte. Of the Hiſtorians they haue Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Alſo my companion, Tricius Apinatus caried with him phiſick bokes, certein ſmal woorkes of Hippocrates and Galenes Microtechne. The whyche boke they haue in greate eſtimation. For thoughe there be almoſt no nation vnder heauen that hath leſſe nede of Phiſicke then they, yet this notwithſtandyng, Phiſicke is no where in greater honour. Bycauſe they counte the knowledge of it among the goodlyeſte, and moſt profytable partes of Philoſophie. For whyles they by the helpe of this Philoſophie ſearche oute the ſecrete myſteryes of nature, they thinke themſelfes to receaue therby not onlye wonderfull greate pleaſure, but alſo to obteine great thankes and fauour of the autour and maker therof. Whome they thinke according to ye faſſion of other artificers, to haue ſet furth the maruelous and gorgious frame of the world for man with great affeccion intentiuely to beholde. Whom only he hath

Phisicke hieghly regarded.

The contemplacion of nature.

made of witte, and capacitie to conſidre and vnderſtand the excellencie of ſo great a woork. And therefore he beareth (ſay they) more goodwil and loue to the curious and diligent beholder and vewer of his woork and maruelour at the ſame, then he doth to him, which like a very brute beaſte without witte and reaſon, or as one without ſenſe or mouing, hathe no regarde to ſoo greate and ſoo wonderfull a ſpectacle. The wittes therefore of the Utopians inurede and exerciſed in learnynge, be marueilous quycke in the inuention of feates helpinge annye thinge to the aduantage and wealthe of lyffe. Howbeit. ii. feates theye maye thanke vs for. That is, the ſcyence of imprinting, and the crafte of makinge paper. And yet not onelye vs but chiefelye and principallye themſelſes.

For when we ſhewede to them Aldus his print in bookes of paper, and told them of the ſtuffe wherof paper is made, and of the feate of grauing letters, ſpeaking ſumwhat more, then we colde plainlye declare (for there was none of vs, that knewe perfectlye either the one or the other) they furthwith very wittely coniectured the thinge. And where as before they wrote onely in ſkinnes, in barkes of tryes, and in rides, nowe they haue attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters. And thoughe at the firſt yt proued not all of the beſte, yet by often aſſayinge the ſame they ſhortelye got the feate of bothe. And haue ſo broughte the matter aboute, that yf they had copyes of Greeke authores, they coulde lacke no bookes. But nowe they haue no moore, then I rehearſed before, ſauinge that by pryntynge of bookes they haue multiplyed and increaſed the ſame into manye thouſandes of copies. Whoſoeuer cummethe thether to ſee the lande, beinge excellent in anye gifte of wytte, or throug[h]e muche and longe iournienge wel experienſed and ſene in the knoweledg[e] of many countreies (for the whyche cauſe wee were very welcome to them) him they receyue and interteyne wonders gentilly, and louinglye. For they haue delite to heare what is done in euerye lande,

howbeit verye fewe merchaunte men come thether. For what ſhoulde they bring thether, onles it were Iron, or els gold and ſiluer, whiche they hadde rather carrye home agayne? Alſo ſuch thinges as are to be caryed oute of theire lande, they thinke it more wyſedome to carry that gere furthe themſelfes, then that other ſhoulde come thether to fetche it, to th[e]ententethey maye the better knowe the out landes on euerye ſyde of them, and kepe in vre the feate and knowledge of failinge.

Of Bondemen, ſicke perſons, wedlocke, and diuers other matters.

THey neither make bondemen of priſoners taken in battayle, oneles it be in battaylle that they foughte them ſelfes, nor of bondmens children, nor to be ſhort, of anye ſuche as they canne gette oute of forreine countries, though he were theire a bondman. But either ſuche, as amonge themſelfes for heinous offences be punyſhed with bondage, or elles ſuche, as in the Cities of other landes for great treſpaſſes be condempned to deathe. And of this ſort of bondemen they haue mooſte ſtoore. A maruelous equitie of this nation.

For manye of them they bringe home ſumtimes payinge very lytle for them, yea mooſte commonlye gettynge them for gramercye. Theſe ſortes of bondemen they kepe not onely in continual woorke and labour, but alſo in bandes. But their oune men they handle hardeſt, whom they Iudge more deſperate, and to haue deſerued greater puniſſhemente, bycauſe they being ſo godlye broughte vp to vertue in ſoo excelente a com*mon wealth, could* not for all that be refreined from

miſdoing. An other kinde of bondemen they haue, when a vile drudge being a poore laborer in an other countrey doth chueſe of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. Theſe they intreate and order honeſtly, and enterteine almoſte as gentellye, as theire owne free cytyzeins, ſauynge that they put them to a lyttle more laboure, as thereto accuſtomed. Yf annye ſuche, be diſpoſed to departe thens (whiche ſeldome is ſeene) they neither holde him againſte his wyll, neither ſende him away with emptye handes. The ſycke (as I ſayde) they ſee to with great affection, and lette nothing at al paſſe conceringe either Phiſycke or good diete, whereby they may be reſtored againe to their health. Such as be ſicke of incurable diſeaſes they comforte with ſittinge by them, with talkinge with them, and to be ſhorte with all maner of helpes that may be. But yf the diſeaſe be not onelye vncurable, but alſo full of contynuall payne and anguiſhe: then the prieſtes and the magiſtrates exhort the man, ſeinge he is not hable to doo anye dewtye of lyffe, and by ouerlyuinge his owne deathe is noyſome and irkeſome to other, and greuous to himſelfe: that he wyl determine with himſelfe no longer to cheryſhe that peſtilent and peineful diſeaſe. And ſeinge his lyfe is to him but a tormente, that he wyl not bee vnwillinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him, and either diſpatche himſelfe out of that payneful lyffe, as out of a priſon, or a racke of tormente, or elles ſuffer himſelfe wyllinglye to be rydde oute of it by other. And in ſo doinge they tell him he ſhall doo wyſely, ſeing by his deathe he ſhall loſe no commoditye, but ende his payne. And bycauſe in that acte he ſhall followe the counſel of the pryeſtes, that is to ſaye, of the interpreters of goddes wyll and pleaſure, they ſhewe him that he ſhall do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus perſuaded, finyſhe theire liues willynglye, either with hunger, or elles dye in theire ſleape without anye feal*ing of* deathe. But they cauſe none ſuche to dye

Of them that be sicke.

Voluntarye deathe.

agaynſte his wyll, nor they vſe no leſſe dilygence and attendaunce aboute him: beleuinge this to be an honorable deathe. Elles he that killeth himſelf before that the pryeſtes and the counſel haue allowed the cauſe of his deathe, him as vnworthy either to be buryed, or with fier to be conſumed, they caſte vnburied into ſome ſtinkinge marriſh The woman is not maried before ſhe be xviii. yeres olde. The man iiij yeres elder before he marye. If either the man or the woman be proued to haue actually offended before theire marriage, with an other, the partye that ſo hathe treſpaced is ſharpelye puniſhed. And bothe the offenders be forbidden euer after in al theire lyfe to marrye: oneles the faulte be forgeuen by the princes pardone. But bothe the good man and the good wyfe of the houſe, where that offenſe was committed as beinge ſlacke and neglygent in lokinge to theire chardge, be in daunger of greate reproche and infamye. That offenſe is ſo ſharpely punyſhed, bicauſe they perceaue, that onles they be diligentlye kepte from the libertye of this vice, fewe wyll ioyne together in the loue of marriage, wherein all the lyfe muſt be led with one, and alſo all the griefes and diſpleaſures comming therewith paciently be taken and borne. Furthermore in chueſinge wyfes and huſbandes they obſerue earneſtly and ſtraytelye a cuſtome, whiche ſemed to vs very fonde and folyſhe. For a ſad and an honeſt matrone ſheweth the woman, be ſhe mayde or widdowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyſe a ſage and diſcrete man exhibyteth the wower naked to the woman. At this cuſtome we laughed, and diſalowed it as fooliſhe. But they on the other parte doo greatlye wonder at the follye of al other nations, whyche in byinge a colte, whereas a lytle money is in haſarde, be ſo charye and circumſpecte, that thoughe he be almoſte all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the ſaddel and all the harneies be taken of, leaſte vnder thoſe couerynges be hydde, *ſom galle or ſoore*. And yet in chueſinge a wyfe,

Of wedlocke.

Thoughe not verie honestly, yet not vnwiselye.

whyche ſhalbe either pleaſure, or diſpleaſure to them all theire lyfe after, they be ſo recheles, that al the reſydewe of the woomans bodye beinge couered with cloothes, they eſteme her ſcaſelye be one handebredeth (for they can ſe no more but her face) and ſo to ioyne her to them not without greate ieoperdye of euel agreinge together, yf any thing in her body afterward ſhould chaunce of offend and myſlyke them.

For all men be not ſo wyſe, as to haue reſpecte to the vertuous conditions of the partie. And the endowmentes of the bodye cauſe the vertues of the minde more to be eſtemed and regarded: yea euen in the mariages of wyſe men. Verely ſo foule deformitie maye be hydde vnder thoſe coueringes, that it maye quite alienate and take awaye the mans mynde from his wyfe, when it ſhal not be lawful for theire bodies to be ſeparate agayne. If ſuche deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is conſummate and finyſhed, wel, there is no remedie but patience. Euery man muſte take his fortune wel a worthe. But it were wel done that a lawe were made wherebye all ſuche deceytes myghte be eſchewed, and aduoyded before hande.

And this were they conſtreyned more earneſtlye to looke vpon, becauſe they onlye of the nations in that parte of the worlde bee contente euerye man with one wyfe a piece. And matrymoneie is there neuer broken, but by death: excepte adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable wayewarde maners of either partye. For if either of them finde themſelfe for any ſuch cauſe greued: they maye by the licenſe of the counſel chaunge and take another. But the other partie lyueth euer after in infamye, and out of wedlocke. Howbeit the huſbande to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that ſome myſhappe is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they wyll ſuffre. For they iudge it a great poynt of crueltie, that anye body in their moſte nede of helpe and comforte, ſhoulde be caſte of and forſaken,

Diuorcement.

and that olde age, whych both bringeth ſicknes with it, and is a ſyckenes it ſelfe, ſhould vnkindly and vnfaythfullye be delte withall. But nowe and then it chaunſeth, where as the man and the woman cannot well agree betw[e]ne themſelfes, both of them fyndinge other, with whome they hope to lyue more quietlye and merylye, that they by the full conſente of them bothe be diuorſed a ſonder and maried againe to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counſell. Whiche agreeth to no diuorſes, before they and their wyfes haue diligently tried and examyned the matter. Yea and then alſo they be lothe to conſent to it, bycauſe they know this to be the next way to break loue betwene man and wyfe, to be in eaſye hope of a new mariage. Breakers of wedlocke be punyſhed with mooſte greuous bondage. And if both the offenders were maried, then the parties whiche in that behalfe haue ſufferede wrong, beinge diuorſed from the auoutrers, be maried together, if they wille, or els to whom they luſt. But if either of them both do ſtyl continewe in loue towarde ſo vnkinde a bedfellowe, the vſe of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partye faulteles be diſpoſed to followe in toylinge and drudgerye the perſon, which for that offence is condempned to bondage. And very ofte it chaunceth that the repentaunce of the one, and the earneſte diligence of the other, dothe ſo moue the prince with pytie and compaſſion, that he reſtoreth the bonde perſone from ſeruitude to libertie and fredom again. But if the ſame partie be taken eftſones in that faulte, there is no other waye but death. To other treſpaces no preſcript puniſhmente is appoynted by anye lawe. But accordinge to the heynouſenes of the offenſe, or contrarye, ſo the puniſhemente is moderated by the diſcretion of the counſell. The huſbandes chaſtice theire wyfes: and the parentes theire children, oneles they haue done anye ſo horryble an offenſe, that the open punyſhemente *thereof* maketh muche for the aduaunceмente

The decerning of punishment putte to the discretion of the magistrates.

of honeſte maners. But moſte commenlye the moſte heynous faultes be punyſhed with the incommoditie of bondage. For that they ſuppoſe to be to the offenders no leſſe griefe, and to the common wealth more profit, then yf they ſhould haſtely put them to death, and ſo make them quite out of the waye. For there cummeth more profit of theire laboure, then of theire deathe, and by theire example they feare other the longer from lyke offenſes. But if they beinge thus vſed, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forſothe they be ſlayne as deſperate and wilde beaſtes, whom neither priſon nor chaine coulde reſtraine and kepe vnder. But they, whiche take theire bondage pacientlye, be not lefte all hopeles. For after they haue bene broken and tamed with long miſeries, if then thei ſhewe ſuch repentaunce, as therebye it maye bee perceaued that they be ſoryer for theire offenſe then for their punyſhemente: ſumtymes by the Prynces prerogatyue, and ſumtymes by the voyce and conſent of the people, theire bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane releaſed and forgeuen. He that moueth to aduoutreye is in no leſſe daunger and ieoperdie, then yf he hadde committed aduoutrye in dede. For in all offenſes they counte the intente and pretenſed purpoſe as euel, as the acte or dede it ſelfe, thinking that no lette oughte to excuſe him, that did his beſte to haue no lette. They haue ſingular delite and pleaſure in foles. And as it is a greate reproche to do annye of them hurte or iniury, ſo they prohibite not to take pleaſure of foolyſhnes. For that, they thinke, dothe muche good to the fooles. And if any man be ſo ſadde, and ſterne, that he cannot laughe neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition: for feare leaſt he would not intreate them gentilly and fauorably enough: to whom they ſhould brynge no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche leſſe anye proffite ſhoulde they yelde him. To mocke a man for his de-

Motion to aduoutrye punished.

pleasure of fooles.

formitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of his bodye, is counted greate diſhoneſtye and reproche, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which vnwyſely doth imbrayde anye man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eſchewe. Alſo as they counte and reken verye little witte to be in him, that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comlineſſe, ſo to helpe the ſame with payntinges, is taken for a vaine and a wanton pride, not without greate infamie. For they knowe euen by very experience, that no comelineſſe of bewtye doethe ſo hyghelye commende and auaunce the wiues in the conceite of their huſbandes, as honeſt conditions and lowlines. For as loue is oftentimes wonne with bewty, ſo it is not kept, preſerued, and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They do not onely feare their people from doyng euil by puniſhmentes, but alſo allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therfore they ſet vp in the markette place the ymages of notable men, and of ſuch as haue bene great and bounteful benefactors to the commen wealth, for ye perpetual memorie of their good actes: and alſo that the glory and renowme of the auncetors maye ſtyrre and prouoke their poſteritie to vertue. He that inordinatly and ambitiouſly deſireth promotions, is left al hopeles for euer atteining any promotion as long as he liueth. They lyue together louinglye. For no magiſtrate is eyther hawte or fearfull. Fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they vſe themſelues. The citezens (as it is their dewtie) willynglye exhibite vnto them dew honour without any compulſion. Nor the prince himſelfe is not knowen from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of ſtate, nor by a crown or diademe roial, or cap of maintenaunce, but by a litle ſheffe of corne caried before him. And ſo a taper of wax is borne before ye biſhop, *wherby onely he* is knowen. They haue but few

Counterfeite bewtie.

Sinne puniſhed and vertue rewarded.

The inordinate deſire of honours condemned.

Magiſtrates honoured.

Fewe lawes. lawes. For to people ſo inſtructe and inſtitute very fewe do ſuffice. Yea this thing they chiefely reproue among other nations, that innumerable bokes of lawes and expoſitions vpon the ſame be not ſufficient. But they think it againſt all right and iuſtice that men ſhoulde be bound to thoſe lawes, which either be in number mo then be hable to be read, or els blinder and darker, then that anye man can well vnderſtande them. Furthermore they vtterlie exclude and baniſhe all attorneis, proctours, and ſergeauntes at the lawe: whiche craftelye handell matters, and ſubtelly diſpute of the lawes. For they thinke it moſte meete, that euery man ſhould pleade his own matter, and tel the ſame tale before the iudge that he wold tell to his man of law. So ſhal there be leſſe circumſtaunce of wordes, and the trueth ſhall ſoner come to light, whiles the iudge with a diſcrete iudgement doeth waye the woordes of him, whom no lawyer hath inſtructe with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and beareth out ſimple wittes againſt the falſe and malicious circumuentions of craftie children. This is harde to be obſerued in other countreis, in ſo infinitie a number of blinde and intricate lawes. But in Utopia euery man is a cunning lawier. For (as I ſaid) they haue very few lawes: and the plainer and groſſer that anye interpretation is: that they allowe as moſt iuſte. For all lawes (ſaie they) be made and publyſhed onely to the intente, that by them euery man ſhoulde be put in remembraunce of his dewtie. But the craftye and ſubtill interpretation of them (forasmuche as few can atteyne thereto) canne put verye fewe in that remembraunce, where as the ſimple, the plaine, and groſſe meaninge of the lawes is open to euerye man.

The multitude of lawyers superfluous.

The intent of lawes.

Elles as touchinge the vulgare ſort of the people, whiche be bothe mooſte in number, and haue moſte nede to knowe their dewties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bringe ſo blynde an interpretation vpon it, that

without greate witte and longe arguynge no man can diſcuſſe it? To the fyndynge oute whereof neyther the groſſe iudgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in woorkinge for their liuynges, canne ſuffice thereto. Theſe vertues of the Utopians haue cauſed their nexte neiboures and borderers, whiche liue fre and vnder no ſubiection (for the Utopians longe ago, haue deliuered manye of them from tirannie) to take magiſtrates of them, ſome for a yeare, and ſome for fiue yeares ſpace. Which when the tyme of their office is expired, they bringe home againe with honoure and praiſe, and take new againe with them into their countrey. Theſe nations haue vndoubtedlye very well and holſomely prouided for their common wealthes. For feynge that bothe the makinge and marringe of the weale publique, doeth depende and hange vpon the maners of the rulers and magiſtrates, what officers coulde they more wyſelye haue choſen, then thoſe which can not be ledde from honeſtye by bribes (for to them that ſhortly after ſhal depart thens into their own countrey money ſhould be vnprofitable) nor yet be moued eyther with fauoure, or malice towardes any man, as beyng ſtraungers, and vna[c]quainted with the people? The whiche two vices of affection and auarice, where they take place in iudgementes, incontinente they breake iuſtice, the ſtrongeſt and ſuereſt bonde of a common wealth Theſe peoples whiche fetche their officers and rulers from them, the Utopians cal their fellowes. And other to whome they haue bene beneficiall, they call their frendes. As touching leagues, which in other places betwene countrey and countrey be ſo ofte concluded, broken, and renewed, they neuer make none with anie nation. For to what purpoſe ſerue leagues, ſay they? As thoughe nature had not ſet ſufficient loue betwene man and man. And who ſo regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will paſſe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chiefelye, *becauſe that in* thoſe partes of the worlde, leagues be-

Of leagues.

twene princes be wont to be kepte and obſerued very ſklenderly. For here in Europa, and eſpeciallye in theſe partes where the faith and religion of Chriſte reigneth, the maieſtie of leagues is euerye where eſtemed holy and inuiolable: partlie through the iuſtice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reuerence and motion of the head Biſhops. Which like as they make no promiſſe themſelues, but they do verye religiouſlye perfourme the ſame, ſo they exhorte all princes in any wiſe to abide by their promiſſes, and them that refuſe or denye ſo to do, by their pontificall powre, and authoritie they compell thereto. And ſurely they thinke well that it might ſeme a verye reprochefull thing, yf in the leagues of them which by a peculiare name be called faithful, faith ſhould haue no place. But in that newe founde parte of the world, which is ſcaſelie ſo farre frome vs beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be diſſident from theirs, no truſt nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo and holier ceremonies the league is knitte vp with, the ſoner it is broken by ſome cauillation founde in the wordes, which many times of purpoſe be ſo craftelie put in, and placed, that the bandes can neuer be ſo ſure nor ſo ſtronge, but they will find ſome hole open to crepe out at, and to breake both league and trueth. The whiche craftye dealing, yea the whiche fraude and deceite, if they ſhould know it to be practiſed among priuate men in their bargaines and contractes, they would incontinent crie out at it with an open mouth, and a ſower countenaunce, as an offenſe moſte deteſtable, and worthye to be punnyſhed with a ſhamefull deathe: yea euen very they that auaunce themſelues authours of lyke counſell geuen to princes. Wherfore it may wel be thought, either that al iuſtice is but a baſſe and a low vertue, and which aualeth it ſelf farre vnder the highe dignitie of kynges: Or at the leaſt wiſe, that there be two iuſtices, the one meete for the inferiour ſorte of the people, goynge a ſote and crepynge lowe by the grounde, and bounde down on euery ſide

with many bandes, bycauſe it ſhall not run at rouers. The other a princelye vertue, which like as it is of much hygher maieſtie, then the other pore iuſtice, ſo alſo it is of muche more libertie, as to the which nothing is vnlawfull that it lusteth after. Theſe maners of princes (as I ſaid) whiche be there ſo euell kepers of leagues, cauſe the Utopians, as I ſuppoſe, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would chaunge their minde if they liued here. Howbeit they thinke that thoughe leagues be neuer ſo faithfullye obſerued and kepte, yet the cuſtome of makynge leagues was very euell begon. For this cauſeth men (as though nations which be ſeperat a ſondre, by ye ſpace of a litle hil or a riuer, were coupled together by no ſocietie or bonde of nature) to thinke themſelues borne aduerſaries and enemies one to an other, and that it were lawfull for the one to ſeke the death and deſtruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after ye leagues be accorded, frendſhip doth not grow and encreſe: But the licence of robbing and ſtealing doth ſtyll remaine, as farfurth as for lack of forſight and aduiſement in writing the wordes of the league, any ſentence or clauſe to the contrarie is not therin ſufficientlie comprehended. But they be of a contrarye opinion. That is, that no man oughte to be counted an enemye, whiche hath done no iniurye. And that the felowſhippe of nature is a ſtronge league: and that men be better and more ſurely knit togethers by loue and beneuolence, then by couenauntes of leagues: by hartie affection of minde, then by wordes.

Of warfare.

WArre or battel as a thing very beaſtly, and yet to no kinde of beaſtes in ſo muche vſe as to man, they do deteſt and abhorre. And contrarie to the cuſtome almooſte of all other nations, they counte nothynge

ſo muche againſt glorie, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore thoughe they do daylie practiſe and exerciſe themſelues in the diſcipline of warre, and not onelie the men, but alſo the women vpon certen appointed daies, leſt they ſhould be to ſeke in the feate of armes, if nede ſhould require, yet they neuer go to battell, but either in the defence of their owne countrey, or to driue out of their frendes lande the enemies that haue inuaded it, or by their power to deliuer from the yocke and bondage of tirannye ſome people, that be therewith oppreſſed. Which thing they do of meere pitie and compaſſion. Howbeit they ſende helpe to their frendes, not euer in their defence. But ſometymes alſo to requite and reuenge iniuries before to them done. But this they do not onleſſe their counſell and aduiſe in the matter be aſked, whiles it is yet newe and freſhe. For if they finde the cauſe probable, and if the contrarie part wil not reſtoore agayne ſuche thynges as be of them iuſtelye demaunded, then they be the chiefe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and inuaſions of ſoldiours praies and booties be driuen awaye, but then alſo muche more mortally, when their frendes marchauntes in anie lande, either vnder the pretence of vniuſte lawes, or elles by the wreſtinge and wronge vnderſtandinge of good lawes, do ſuſteine an vniuſt accuſation vnder the colour of iuſtice. Neither the battell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes againſt the Alaopolitanes a litle before oure time was made for any other cauſe, but that the Nephelogete marchaunt men, as the Utopians thought, ſuffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes, vnder the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with ſo cruel and mortal warre reuenged, the countreis rounde about ioyninge their helpe and powre to the purſaunce and malice of bothe parties, that moſte floriſhing and wealthy peoples, being ſome of them ſhrewedly ſhaken, and ſome of them ſharpely beaten, the miſcheues wer not finiſhed nor ended, vn-

til the Alaopolitanes, at the laſt were yelded vp as bondemen into the iuriſdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Utopians fought not this war for themſelues. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flouriſhed in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them. So egerlye the Utopians proſequute the iniuries done to their frendes: yea, in money matters, and not their owne likewiſe. For if they by coueyne or gile be wiped beſide their goodes, ſo that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by abſteininge from occupieng with that nation, vntil they haue made ſatiffaction. Not forbicauſe they ſet leſſe ſtoore by their owne citizeins, then by their frendes: but that they take the loſſe of their frendes money more heuelie then ye loſſe of their own. Bicauſe that their frendes marchaunte men, foraſmuche as that they leiſe is their own priuate goods, ſuſteine great dammage by the loſſe. But their owne citizeyns leiſe nothing but of the commen goods, and of that whiche was at home plentifull and almoſt ſuperfluous, els had it not bene ſent furth. Therfore no man feleth the loſſe. And for this cauſe they thinke it to cruell an acte, to reuenge that loſſe with the deathe of manie, the incommoditie of the which loſſe no man ſeeleth neither in his lyfe, nor yet in his liuing. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other countrey be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a commen or a priuate counſel, knowyng and trying out the trueth of the matter by their ambaſſadours, onleſſe the offenders be rendered vnto them in recompence of the iniurie, they will not be appeaſed: but incontinent they proclaime warre againſt them. The offenders yelded, they puniſhe either with death, or with bondage. They be not only ſory, but alſo aſhamed to atchieue the victorie with bloudſhed, counting it greate folie to bie precious wares to dere. They reioyſe and auaunt themſelues, if they vanquiſhe and oppreſſe their enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they

Victorie deare bought.

make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they ſet vp a pyller of ſtone in the place where they ſo vanquiſhed their enemies, in token of the victorie. For then they glorie, then they boaſte, and cracke that they haue plaied the men in deede. when they haue ſo ouercommen, as no other liuing creature but onely man could: that is to ſaye, by the by the mighte and puiſaunce of wit. For with bodily ſtrength (ſay they) beares, lions, boores, wulfes, dogges, and other wild beaſtes do fight. And as the moſte part of them do paſſe vs in ſtrength and fierce courage, ſo in wit and reaſon we be much ſtronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpoſe in warre, is to obteine that thynge, whiche if they had before obteined, they woulde not haue moued battell. But if that be not poſſible, they take ſo cruell vengeaunce of them whiche be in the faulte, that euer after they be aferde to do the like. This is their chiefe and principall intent, whiche they immediatlie and firſt of al proſequute, and ſetforwarde. But yet ſo, that they be more circumſpecte, in auoidinge and eſchewynge ieopardies, then they be deſierous of prayſe and renowne. Therefore immediatlye after that warre is ones ſolemnelie denounced, they procure many proclamations ſigned with their owne commen ſeale to be ſet vp priuilie at one time in their enemies lande, in places moſte frequented. In theſe proclamations they promiſſe greate rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and ſome what leſſe giftes, but them verye greate alſo, for euerye heade of them, whoſe names be in the ſaide proclamations conteyned. They be thoſe whom they count their chiefe aduerſaries, next vnto the prince. Whatſoeuer is preſcribed vnto him that killeth any of the proclaimed perſons, that is dubled to him that bringeth anye of the ſame to them aliue: yea, and to the proclaimed perſones themſelues, if they wil chaunge their mindes, and come into them, taking their partes, they profer the ſame greate rewardes with pardone, and ſuertie of their liues. Therefore it quickely commeth to paſſe that their ene-

mies haue all other men in ſuſpicion, and be vnfaithfull, and miſtruſting among themſelues one to another, liuing in great feare, and in no leſſe ieopardie. For it is well knowen, that diuers times the moſt part of them (and ſpeciallie the prince him ſelfe) hathe bene betraied of them, in whom they put their moſte hope and truſt. So that there is no maner of act nor dede that giftes and rewardes do not enforce men vnto. And in rewardes they kepe no meaſure. But remembring and conſidering into how great haſarde and ieopardie they cal them, endeuoure themſelues to recompence the greatnes of the daunger with like great benefites. And therefore they promiſe not only wonderful greate abundaunce of golde, but alſo landes of greate reuenues lieng in moſt faffe places among theire frendes. And theire promiſſes they perfourme faythfully withoute annye fraude or couyne. This cuſtome of byinge and ſellynge aduerſaryes among other people is dyſallowed, as a cruel acte of a baſſe and a cowardyſhe mynde. But they in this behalfe thinke themſelfes muche prayſe woorthy, as who lyke wyſe men by this meanes diſpatche greate warres withoute anny battell or ſkyrmyſhe. Yea they counte it alſo a dede of pytye and mercye, bicauſe that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyues of a greate numbre of innocentes, aſwel of theire oune men as alſo of theire enemies be raunſomed and ſaued, which in fighting ſhoulde haue bene ſleane. For they doo no leſſe pytye the baſſe and common ſorte of theire enemies people, then they doo theire owne: knowing yat they be driuen and enforced to warre againſte their willes by the furyous madnes of theire princes and heades. Yf by none of theſe meanes the matter goo forwarde, as they woulde haue it, then they procure occayſons of debate, and diſſention to be ſpredde amonge theire enemies. As by bringinge the princes brother, or ſome of the noble men in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Yf this waye preuayle not, then they reyſe vp the people that be nexte neyghebours and borderers to theire enemyes, and them they

ſette in theire neckes vnder the coloure of ſome olde tytle of ryghte, ſuch as kynges doo neuer lacke. To them they promyſſe theire helpe and ayde in theire warre. And as for moneye they gyue them abundaunce. But of theire owne cytyzeins they ſende to them fewe or none. Whome they make ſo much of, and loue ſo intierlye, that they would not be willing to chaunge anye of them for their aduerſaries prince. But their gold and ſiluer, bycauſe they kepe it all for thys only purpoſe, they laye it owte frankly and frely: as who ſhoulde lyue euen as wealthely, if they hadde beſtowed it euerye pennye. Yea and beſydes theire ryches, whyche they kepe at home, thei haue alſo an infinite treaſure abrode, by reaſon that (as I ſayde before) manye nations be in their debte. Therefore they hiere ſoldiours oute of all countreis and ſende them to battayle, but cheifly of the zapoletes. This people is. 500. myles from Utopia eaſtewarde. They be hideous, ſauage, and fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes and high mountaines, where they were bredde and brought vp. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and ſuſteine heate, colde, and labour, abhorrynge from all delicate deintyes, occupyenge no huſbandrye nor tyllage of the ground, homelye and rude both in buildinge of their houſes and in their apparrel, geuen vnto no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge and bringynge vp of cattel. The moſte parte of theire lyuinge is by huntynge and ſtealynge. They be borne onelye to warre, whyche they diligentlye and earneſtelye ſeke for. And when they haue gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of theire countreye in greate companyes together, and who ſoeuer lackethe ſouldyours, there they proffer theire ſeruice for ſmall wages. This is onelye the craſte they haue to gette theire liuynge by. They maynteyne theire lyfe, by ſekinge theire deathe. For them whomewyth they be in wayges they fyghte hardelye, fyerſlye, and faythefullye. But they bynde themſelſes for no certeyne tyme. But vpon this condition they

entre into bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take parte with the other ſyde for greatter wayges, and the nexte daye after that, they wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres thereawaye, wherein is not a greate numbre of them in bothe partyes. Therefore it dayelye chauncethe that nye kynſefolke whyche were hiered together on one parte, and there verye frendelye and familiarlye vſed themſelfes one wyth another, ſhortely after beinge ſeparate in contrarye partes, runne one againſte another enuyouſlye and fyercelye: and forgettinge bothe kindred and frendeſhyppe, thruſte theire ſwordes one in another. And that for none other cauſe, but that they be hyered of contrarye prynces for a lytle moneye. Whyche they doo ſo hyghlye regarde and eſteame, that they will eaſelye be prouoked to chaunge partes for a halfepenye more wayges by the daye. So quyckelye they haue taken a ſmacke in couetefenes. Whyche for all that is to them no proffyte. For that they gette by fyghtynge, immedyatelye they ſpende vnthryftelye and wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Utopians agaynſte all nations, bycauſe they geue them greatter wayges, then annye other nation wyll. For the Utopians lyke as they ſeke good men to vſe wel, ſo they ſeke theſe euell and vicious men to abuſe. Whome, when neade requirethe, with promiſſes of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great ieopardyes. From whens the mooſte parte of them neuer cummeth againe to aſke their rewardes. But to them that remaine aliue they paye yat which they promiſſed faithfully, that they maye be the more willinge to put themſelfes in like daunger another time. Nor ye Utopianes paſſe not how many of them they bring to deſtruction. For they beleue yat they ſhould doo a verye good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of ye worlde all that fowle ſtinking denne of that moſt wicked and curſed people. Next vnto thies they vſe ye ſoldiours of them for whom they fighte. And then the helpe of their other frendes. And laſte of all, they ioyne to

theire oune citizens. Emong whome they giue to one of tried vertue and prowes the reule, goouernaunce, and conduction of the whole armye. Vnder him they appoynte ij. other, whyche, whyles he is fauffe, be bothe priuate and oute of offyce. But yf he be taken or flayne, the one of the other. ij. fuccedeth hym, as it were by inherytaunce. And if the ſeconde miſcarrye, then the thirde taketh his rowme, leaſte that (as the chaunce of battell is vncerteine and doubtful) the ieopardye or deathe of the capitaine ſhoulde brynge the whole armye in haſarde. They chueſe ſoldyours out of euery citye thoſe, whych putte furthe themſelfes wyllyngelye. For they thruſte no man forthe into warre agaynſte his wyll. Bycauſe they beleue, yf annye man be fearefull and fainte harted of nature, he wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte hym ſelfe, but alſo be occayſon of cowardenes to his fellowes. But if annye battell be made agaynſte theire owne countreye, then they putt theſe cowardes (ſo that they be ſtronge bodyed) in ſhyppes amonge other bolde harted men. Or elles they dyſpoſe them vpon the walles, from whens they maye not flye. Thus what for ſhame that theire enemies be at hande, and what for bycauſe they be without hope of runninge awaye, they forgette all feere. And manye times extreame neceſſitye turnethe cowardnes into prowes and manlynes. But as none of them is thruſt forthe of his countrey into warre againſte his wyll, ſo women that be wyllynge to accompany theire huſbandes in times of warre be not prohibited or letted. Yea they prouoke and exhorte them to it with prayſes. And in ſet fylde the wyues doo ſtande euerye one by theire owne huſbandes ſyde. Alſo euery man is compaſſed next aboute with his owne children, kinffolkes, and aliaunce. That they, whom nature chiefely moueth to mutual ſuccoure, thus ſtandynge together, maye healpe one another. It is a great reproche, and diſhoneſty for the huſband to come home without his wiffe, or the wyffe without her huſbande, or the ſonne without his father

And therfore if the other part ſticke ſo harde by it, that the battel come to their handes, it is fought with great ſlaughter and blodſhed, euen to the vtter deſtruction of both partes. For as they make all the meanes and ſhyftes that maye be to kepe themſelfes from the neceſſitye of fyghtinge, or that they may diſpatche the battell by their hiered ſoldyours: ſo when there is no remedy, but that they muſte neades fight themſelfes, they they do as corragiouſlye fall to it, as before, whyles they myght, they did wiſelye auoyde and refuſe it. Nor they be not moſt fierce at the firſt bront. But in continuaunce by litle and lytle theire fierce courage encreaſeth, with ſo ſtubborne and obſtynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye then gyue back an ynche. For that ſuertye of lyuinge, whiche euerye man hath at home beinge ioyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how theire poſteritie ſhall lyue after them (for his penſifnes oftentymes breakethe and abateth couragious ſtomakes) maketh them ſtowte and hardye, and diſdaineful to be conquered. Moreouer theire knowledge in cheualrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholeſome and vertuous opinions, wherin they were brought vp euen from theire childhode, partely through learnynge, and partlye throughe the good ordinaunces and lawes of theire weale publique augmente and encreaſe theire manfull courage. By reaſon whereof they neither ſet ſo litle ſtore by their liues, that they will raſſhelye and vnaduiſedlye caſte them away: nor they be not ſo farre in lewde and fond loue therewith, that they will ſhamefullye couete to kepe them, when honeſtie biddeth leaue them. When the battel is hotteſt and in al places moſt fierce and feruent, a bende of choſen and picked yong men, whiche be ſworne to liue and dye togethers, take vpon them to deſtroye theire aduerſaries *capitaine*. *Whome* they inuade now with priuy wieles, *now by open ſtrength*. At him they ſtrike both nere *and farre of*. He is aſſayled with a long and a con-

The capitane is chieflye to be pursued to th[e]iotentethe battell maye the soner be ended.

tinuall assaulte freshe men styll commynge in the wered mens places. And seldome it chaunceth (onles he he saue hymselfe by flying) that he is not either slayne, or els taken prisoner, and yelded to his enemies alive. If they wynne the fyelde, they persecute not their enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them alive, then kyl them. Neither they do so follow the chase and pursute of their enemies, but they leaue behinde them one parte of theire hoste in battaile arraye vnder their standardes. In so muche that if al their whole armie be discumfeted and ouercum sauing the rereward, and that they therewith atchieue the victory, then they had rather lette al their enemies scape, then to followe them out of array. For they remembre, it hath chaunced vnto themselues more then ones: the whole powre and strength of their hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies reioysing in the victory haue persecuted them flying some one way and some another, a small companye of theire men lying in an ambushe, there redy at all occasions, haue sodainelye rysen vpon them thus dispersed and scattered oute of arraye, and through presumption of safety vnaduisedly pursuing the chase: and haue incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battayll: and spite of their tethes wrestinge oute of their handes the sure and vndouted victorye, being a litle before conquered, haue for their parte conquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in auoydinge the same. You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrarye wyse when they go about that purpose, you wold beleue it were the leaste parte of their thought. For if they perceaue themselues either ouermatched in numbre, or closed in too narrowe a place, then they remoue their campe either in the night seasone with silence, or by some pollicie they deceaue theire enemies, or in the day time they retiere backe so softelye, that it is no *lesse ieoperdie* to medle with them when they geue *backe*, then when they preese on. They fence and

fortifie their campe ſewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is caſt inward. Nor they do not ſet drudgeis and ſlaues a worke about it. It is doone by the handes of the ſouldiours them ſelfes. All the whole armye worketh vpon it: excepte them that kepe watche and warde in harneis before the trenche for ſodeine auentures. Therefore by the labour of ſo manye a large trenche clofinge in a greate compaſſe of grounde is made in leſſe tyme then anye man woulde beleue. Theire armoure or harneys, whiche they weare, is ſure and ſtrong to receaue ſtrokes, and handſome for all mouinges and geſtures of the bodye, infomuche that it is not vnweldye to ſwymme in. For in the diſcipline of theire warefare amonge other feates thei learne to ſwimme in harnes. Their weapons be arrowes aloufe: whyche they ſhote both ſtrongely and ſurelye, not onelye fotemen, but alſo horſemen. At hande ſtrokes they vſe not ſwordes but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, aſwel in ſharpenes, as in weyghte, both for foynes and downe ſtrokes. Engines for warre they deuyſe and inuent wonders wittelye. Whiche when they be made they kepe verye ſecrete, leaſte yf they ſhoulde be knowen before neade requyre, they ſhould be but laughed at and ſerue to no purpoſe. Bnt in makynge them hereunto they haue chiefe reſpecte, that they be both eaſy to be caried, and handſome to be moued, and turned about.

Their armour.

Truce taken with their enemies for a ſhorte time they do ſo firmelye and faythfullye keape, that they wyll not breake it: no not though they be thereunto prouoked. They doe not waſte nor deſtroye theire enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not vp their corne. Yea, they ſaue it as muche as may be from being ouerrunne and troden downe either with men or horſes, thinkinge that it growethe for theire owne vſe and proffit. They hurt no man that is vnarmed, onles he be an eſpiall. All cities that be yelded vnto them, they defende. And ſuche as they wynne by force of aſſaulte, they neither diſpoyle nor ſacke, but them that withſtode and dyſſuaded the

Of truces.

yeldynge vp of the ſame, they put to deathe, the other ſouldiours they punnyſhe with bondage. All the weake multitude they leaue vntouched. If they knowe that annye citezeins counſelled to yealde and rendre vp the citie, to them they gyue parte of the condemned mens goods. The reſydewe they diſtribute and giue frelye amonge them, whoſe helpe they had in ſame warre. For none of them ſelfes taketh any portion of the praye. But when the battaile is finiſhed and ended, they put theire frendes to neuer a penny coſte of al the charges that they were at, but laye it vpon theire neckes that be conquered. Them they burdeine with the whole charge of theire expenſeis, whiche they demaunde of them partelye in moneie to be kept for like vſe of battayll, and partelye in landes of greate reuenues to be payde vnto them yearelye for euer. Suche reuenues they haue now in manye countreis. Whiche by litle and litle ryſinge of dyuers and ſondry cauſes be increaſed aboue. vij. [ſeven] hundrethe thouſand ducates by the yere. Thether they ſende forth ſome of their citezeins as Lieuetenauntes, to liue there ſumptuouſly like men of honoure and renowne. And yet this not withſtandinge muche moneye is ſaued, which commeth to the commen treaſory: onles it ſo chaunce, that they had rather truſt ye countrey with the money. Which many times they do ſo long, vntil they haue nede to occupie it. And it ſeldome happeneth, that thei demaund al. Of theſe landes they aſſigne parte vnto them, which at their requeſt and exhortacion put themſelfes in ſuch ieoperdies, as I ſpake of before. If anye prince ſtirre vp warre agaynſte them, intending to inuade theire lande, they mete hym incontinent oute of theire owne borders with greate powre and ſtrengthe. For they neuer lyghtely make warre in their owne countrei. Nor they be neuer broughte into ſo extreme neceſſitie as to take helpe out of forreyne landes into their owne Ilande.

of the religions in Utopia.

THere be diuers kindes of religion not only in ſondrie partes of the Ilande, but alſo in diuers places of euery citie. Some worſhip for God the ſonne: ſome the mone: ſome, ſome other of the planettes. e that giue worſhip to a man that was ones of te vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, as the chiefeſt and hygheſt God. But the ıd the wyſeſt parte (reiectynge al theſe) beleue, re is a certayne Godlie powre vnknowen, euer- incomprehenſible, inexplicable, farre aboue acitie and retche of mans witte, diſperſed ute all the worlde, not in bignes, but in ver- power. Him they call the father of al. To ne they attribute the beginninges, the en- es, the procedinges, the chaunges, and the f al thinges. Neither they geue any diuine to any other then to him. Yea al ye other ugh they be in diuers opinions, yet in this hey agree all togethers with the wiſeſt ſorte, ing that there is one chiefe and principall maker and ruler of the whole worlde: whome commonlye in their countrey language call But in this they diſagree, that among ſome unted one, and amonge ſome an other. For ıe of them, whatſoeuer yat is whiche he taketh chief god, thinketh it to be the very ſame o whoſe only diuine mighte and maieſtie, the nd ſoueraintie of al thinges by the conſent of e is attributed and geuen. Howbeit they all y litle and litle to forſake and fall from this of ſuperſtitions, and to agre togethers in that whiche ſemethe by reaſon to paſſe and excell lewe. *And it* is not to be doubted, but all the *uld long agoo* haue bene aboliſhed, but that er *vnproſperous* thynge happened to anie of

them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the feareſulneſſe of people did take it, not as a thinge comminge by chaunce, but as ſente from GOD out of heauen. As thoughe the God, whoſe honoure he was forſakynge, woulde reuenge that wicked purpoſe againſt him. But after they hearde vs ſpeake of the name of Chriſte, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of thee no leſſe wonderful conſtancie of ſo manye martyrs, whoſe bloude wyllinglye ſhedde broughte a great numbre of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their ſect: you will not beleue with howe gladde mindes, they agreed vnto the ſame: whether it were by the ſecrete inſpiration of GOD, or elles for that they thought it niegheſt vnto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefeſt. Howbeit I thinke this was no ſmale helpe and furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde vs ſay, that Chriſt inſtituted among his, al thinges commen: and that the ſame communitie doth yet remaine amongeſt the righteſt Chriſtian companies. Verely howſoeuer it came to paſſe, manye of them conſented togethers in our religion, and were waſſhed in ye holy water of baptiſme. But becauſe among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left a liue, two of our companye beyng dead) there was no prieſt, which I am right ſorie for: they beynge entered and inſtructed in al other pointes of our religion, lacke only thoſe ſacramentes, whiche here none but prieſtes do miniſter. Howbeit they vnderſtand and perceiue them, and be very deſierous of ye ſame. Yea, they reaſon and diſpute ye matter earneſtly among themſelues, whether without ye ſending of a chriſtian biſhop, one choſen out of their own people may receaue the ordre of prieſthod. And truely they were minded to chueſe one. But at my departure from them they had choſen none. They alſo which do not agree to Chriſtes religion, feare no man from it, nor ſpeake againſt any man that hath receiued it. Sauing that one of our company in w preſence was ſharpely puniſhed. He as ſoone as

Religious houſes.

was baptiſed, began againſt our willes, with more earneſte affection, then wiſedome, to reaſon of Chriſtes religion: and began to waxe ſo hote in his matter, that he did not onlye preferre our religion before al other, but alſo did vtterly deſpiſe and condempne all other, calling them prophane, and the folowers of them wicked and deueliſh, and the children of euerlaſtinge dampnation. When he had thus longe reaſoned the matter, they laide holde on him, accuſed him, and condempned him into exile, not as a deſpiſer of religion, but as a ſedicious perſon, and a raiſer vp of diſſention amonge the people. For this is one of the auncienteſt lawes amonge them: that no man ſhall be blamed for reſoninge in the maintenaunce of his owne religion. For kyng Utopus, euen at the firſte beginning, hearing yat the inhabitauntes of the land wer before his comming thether, at continuall diſſention and ſtriſe amonge themſelues for their religions: perceyuing alſo that this common diſſention (whiles euery ſeuerall ſecte tooke ſeueral partes in fighting for their countrey) was the only occaſion of his conqueſt ouer them al, aſſone as he had gotten the victory: Firſte of all he made a decree, that it ſhould be lawfull for euerie man to ſauoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the beſt he could to bring other to his opinion, ſo that he did it peaceablie, gentelie, quietly, and ſoberlie, without haſtie and contentious rebuking and inuehing againſt other. If he could not by faire and gentle ſpeche induce them vnto his opinion yet he ſhould vſe no kinde of violence, and refraine from diſpleaſaunte and ſeditious woordes. To him that would vehemently and feruentlye in this cauſe ſtriue and contende was decreed, baniſhment or bondage. This lawe did kynge Utopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he ſaw through continuall contention and mortal hatred *vtterly extinguiſhed*: but alſo becauſe he thought this *decrie ſhould make* for the furtheraunce of religion. *Wherof he durſt* define and determine nothing vnad-

Sedicious reſoners puniſhed.

uiſedlie, as douting whether god deſiering manifolde and diuerſe ſortes of honour, would inſpire ſondry men with ſondrie kindes of religion, And this ſuerly he thought a very vnmete and foliſh thing, and a point of arrogant preſumption, to compell all other by violence and threateninges to agre to the ſame, that thou beleueſt to be trew. Furthermore thoughe there be one religion, whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine and ſuperſtitious, yet did he wel foreſee (ſo that the matter were handeled with reaſon, and ſober modeſtie) that the trueth of the own powre would at the laſt iſſue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and debate in that behalfe ſhould continuallye be vſed, as the woorſte men be mooſte obſtinate and ſtubbourne, and in their euyll opinion mooſte conſtante: he perceaued that then the beſte and holyeſt religion woulde be troden vnderfote and deſtroyed by moſt vaine ſuperſticions, euen as good corne is by thornes and weedes ouergrowen and chooked. Therfore all this matter he leſte vndiſcuſſed, and gaue to euerye man free libertie and choiſe to beleue what he woulde. Sauinge that he earneſtelye and ſtraitelye charged them, that no man ſhould conceaue ſo vile and baaſe an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the ſoules do die and periſhe with the bodye: or that the world runneth at al auentures gouerned by no diuine prouidence. And therfore thei beleue that after this life vices be extreamelye puniſhed and vertues bountifully rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opinion they counte not in the numbre of men, as one that hathe aualed the heighe nature of hys ſoule to the vielnes of brute beaſtes bodies: muche leſſe in the numbre of their citiziens, whoſe lawes and ordenaunces, if it were not for feare, he wold nothing at al eſteeme. For you maye be ſuer that he will ſtudie either with craft priuely to mocke, or els violently to breake the common lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no further feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of th

No vile opinion to be conceaued of mans worthy nature.

bodye. Wherfore he that is thus minded is depriued of all honours, excluded from all common adminiſtrations in the weale publique. And thus he is of all ſortes deſpiſed, as of an vnprofitable, and of a baſe and vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no puniſhment, becauſe they be perſuaded, that it is in no mans power to beleue what he liſt. No nor they conſtraine hym not with threatninges to diſſemble his minde, and ſhew countenaunce contrarie to his thought. For deceit and falſhod and all maners of lies, as nexte vnto fraude, they do maruelouſlie deteſte and abhorre. But they ſuffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that onelye amonge the commen people. For els aparte amonge the prieſtes and men of grauitie they do not onelye ſuffer, but alſo exhorte him to diſpute and argue: hoping that at the laſt, that madnes will geue place to reaſon. There be alſo other, and of them no ſmall numbre, which be not forbidden to ſpeake theyr mindes, as grounding their opinion vpon ſome reaſon, beyng in their liuing neither euell nor vicious. Their hereſie is much contrarie to the other. For they beleue that the ſoules of brute beaſtes be immortall and euerlaſting. But nothynge to be compared with oures in dignitie, neither ordeined nor predeſtinate to like felicitie. For al they beleue certeinly and ſewerly that mans bleſſe ſhal be ſo great, that they do mourne and lament euery mans ſicknes, but no mans death, oneles it be one whome they ſee depart from his life careſullie, and agaynſt his will. For this they take for a verye euel token, as thoughe the ſoule beynge in diſpaire, and vexed in conſcience, through ſome priuie and ſecret forefeiling of the puniſhement now at hande were aferde to depart. And they thinke he ſhall not be welcome to God, *which when he is called*, runneth not to him gladlye, *but is drawen by force* and ſore againſt his will. They *therfore that* ſee this kinde of deathe, do abhorre it,

Irreligious people secluded from all honours.

A very straung sayinge.

Deceit and falshod detested.

A maruelous straunge opinion touching the soules of brute beastes.

To die vnwillyngly an euel token.

and them that ſo die, they burie with ſorow and ſilence. And when they haue praied God to be mercifull to the ſoule, and mercifully to pardon the infirmities therof, they couer the dead coorſe with earth. Contrariewiſe all that departe merely and ful of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the heerſe with ioyfull ſynging, commending the ſoules to God with great affection. And at the laſt, not with mourning ſorrow, but with a great reuerence they bourne the bodies. And in the ſame place they ſette vp a piller of ſtone, with the dead mans titles therin graued. When they be come home they reherſe his vertuous maners and his good dedes. But no part of his life is ſo oft or gladly talked of, as his meri deth. They thinke that this remembraunce of the vertue and goodnes of the dead doeth vehemently prouoke and enforce the liuing to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleaſaunt and acceptable to the deade. Whom they ſuppoſe to be preſent among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull and feble eieſight of mortall men they be inuiſible. For it were an vnconuenient thinge, that the bleſſed ſhoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they woulde. And it were a pointe of greate vnkindnes in them to haue vtterly caſt awaye the deſire of viſitinge and ſeing their frendes, to whome they were in their life time ioyned by mutuall loue and amitie. Whiche in good men after their deathe they counte to be rather increaſed then diminiſhed. They beleue therefore that the deade be preſentlye conuerſaunt amonge the quicke, as beholders and witneſſes of all their wordes and dedes. Therfore they go more corragiouſly to their buſines as hauing a truſt and affiaunce in ſuch ouerſeers. And this ſame beleſe of the preſent conuerſation of their foreſathers and auncetours among them, feareth them from all ſecrete diſhoneſtie. They vtterly deſpiſe and mocke ſothſayinges and diuinations of thinges to come by the flighte or voices of birdes, an

A willing and a merye deathe not to be lamented.

Sothsayers not regarded nor credited.

all other diuinations of vaine ſuperſtition, whiche in other countreis be in greate obſeruation. But they highlye eſteme and worſhyppe miracles that come by no healpe of nature, as woorkes and witneſſes of the preſente power of God. And ſuche they ſaye do chaunce there verye often. And ſometimes in great and doubtefull matters, by commen interceſſion and prayers, they procure and obteine them with a ſure hope and confidence, and a ſteadfaſt beleſe. Miracles.

They thinke that the contemplation of nature, and the prayſe thereof comminge, is to God a very acceptable honoure. Yet there be many ſo earneſtlye bent and affectioned to religion, that they paſſe no thing for lerning, nor geue their mindes to any knowledge of thinges. But ydelnes they vtterly forſake and eſchue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten and obteined by buſie labors and good exerciſes. Some therfore of them attende vpon the ſicke, ſome amende high waies, clenſe ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfes, grauell, and ſtones, fel and cleaue wood, bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, and ſerue not onelye in commen woorkes, but alſo in priuate laboures as ſeruauntes, yea, more then bondmen. For what ſo euer vnpleaſaunt, harde, and vile worke is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothſomnes, and deſperation doth fray other, al that they take vpon them willingly and gladly, procuring quiete and reſt to other, remaininge in continual woorke and labour themſelues, not embraidinge others therewith. They neither reproue other mens liues, nor glorie in theire owne. Theſe men the more ſeruiceable they behaue themſelues, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be diuided into two ſectes. The one is of them that liue ſingle and chaſt, abſteining not onely from the companie of women, but alſo from eating of fleſhe, and ſome of them from all maner of beastes. *Whiche vtterly* reiecting the pleaſures of this *preſent life as hurtfull*, be all wholye ſet vpon the deſier of *the lyfe to come* by watchynge, and ſweatynge, hoop- The life contemplatiue. The life actiue.

inge ſhortly to obtaine it, being in the meane ſ
merie and luſtie. The other ſecte is no leſſe deſiro
laboure, but they embrace matrimonye, not deſpi
the ſolace therof, thinking that they can no
diſcharged of their bounden duties towardes n
without labour and toyle, nor towardes thei
tiue countrey without procreation of children.
abſtaine from no pleaſure that doeth nothinge
der them from laboure. They loue the fleſh of
ſooted beaſtes, bicauſe they beleue that by
meate they be made hardier and ſtronger to wo

It is not all one to be wise and good.

The Utopians counte this ſecte the wiſe
the other the holier. Which in that the
ſerre ſingle life before matrimony, and
ſharp life before an eaſier life, if herein they grounded
reaſon they would mock them. But now foraſmucha
ſay they be led to it by religion, they honor and
ſhip them. And thete be they whom in their lan
by a peculiar name, they cal Buthreſcas, the
woord by interpretation ſignifieth to vs men of rel

Priestes.

or religious men. They haue prieſ
exceding holines, and therefore very
For there be but xiij. in euery citie accordinge t
number of their churches, ſauyng when they go
to battell. For than. vij. of them goo furth wit
armie: in whoſe ſteades ſo manie newe be ma
home. But the other at their retourne home
reentre euery one into his owne place, they th
aboue the numbre, vntill ſuche time as they ſu
into the places of the other at their dyinge, be i
meane ſeaſon continuallie in companie with the
oppe. For he is the chiefe heade of them al.
be choſen of the people, as the other magiſtrates
ſecrete voices for the auoydinge of ſtrife. After
election they be conſecrate of their own comp
They be ouerſeers of al diuine matters, orderers
ligions, and as it wer iudges and maiſters of ma
And it is a great diſhoneſtie and ſhame to be reb
or ſpoken to by any of them for diſſolute and

ent liuing. But as it is their office to geue good exhortations and counſel, ſo is it ye dutie of the prince and the other magiſtrates to correct and puniſhe offenders, ſauing that the prieſtes, whome they find exceading vicious liuers, them they excommunicate from hauing anye intereſt in diuine matters. And there is almoſte no puniſhement amonge them more feared. For they runne in verye great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a ſecret feare of religion, and ſhall not long ſcape free with their bodies. For vnleſſe they by quicke repentaunce approue the amendement of their liues to the prieſtes, they be taken and puniſhed of the counſel, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhode and youth is inſtructed, and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligente to inſtructe them in learning, then in vertue and good maners. For they vſe with verie great endeuour and diligence to put into the heades of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conſeruation of their weale publique. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them al their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenaunce of the ſtate of the commen welth. Whiche neuer decaieth but throughe vices risinge of euill opinions. The prieſtes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from prieſthoode, howbeit fewe be choſen, and none but widdowes and old women) the men prieſtes, I ſaye, take to their wifes the chiefeſt women in all their countreye. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and preeminince geuen. In ſo much that if they commit any offence, they be vnder no commen iudgement, but be left only to god and themſelfes. For thei thinke it not lawful to touch him with mannes hande, be he neuer ſo vitious, which after ſo ſingular a ſort was dedicate and conſecrate to god, as a holly offering. This maner may they eaſelye obſerue, bicauſe they haue ſo fewe prieſtes, and do chuſe them with ſuch circumſpec-

Excommunication.

Women prieſtes.

The maiestie and preeminence of priestes.

tion. For it ſcaſely euer chaunceth, that the moſte vertuous amonge vertuous, which in reſpect only of his vertue is auaunced to ſo high a dignity, can fal to vice and wickednes. And if it ſhould chaunce in dede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reaſon they be ſo fewe, and promoted to no might nor powre, but only to honoure, it were not to be feared yat anye great dammage by them ſhould happen and enſue to the commen wealthe. They haue ſo rare and fewe prieſtes, leaſt if the honour were communicated to many, ye digniti of the ordre, which among them now is ſo highly eſtemed, ſhould rune in contempt. Speciallye bicauſe they thincke it hard to find many ſo good, as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and diſcharge whereof it is not ſufficiente to be endued with meane vertues. Furthermore theſe prieſtes be not more eſtemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of forrein and ſtraunge countreis. Which thinge maye hereby plainly appere. And I thinke alſo yat this is the cauſe of it. For whiles ye armies be fighting together in open feld they a litle beſide not farre of knele vpon their knees in their hallowed veſtimentes, holding vp their handes to heauen: praing firſt of all for peace, nexte for vyctory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bluddy victory. If their hoſt gette the vpper hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle, and reſtrayne their owne men from fleying and cruelly purſuinge theire vanquyſhed enemies. Whyche enemyes, yf they doo but ſee them and ſpeake to them, it is ynoughe for the ſauegarde of theire lyues. And the touching of theire clothes defendeth and ſaueth al their gooddes from rauine and ſpoyle. This thinge hathe auaunced them to ſo greate wourſhip and trewe maieſty among al nations, that manye times they haue aſwel preſerued theire own citizens from ye cruel force of their enemies, as they haue theire enemies from the furyous rage of theire owne men. For it is well knowen, that when theire owne army hathe reculed, and in dyſpayre turned backe, and runne away, their ennemies fyerſlye purſuinge

with ſlaughter and ſpoyle, then the prieſtes cumming betwene haue ſtayed the murder, and parted bothe the hoſtes. So that peace hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes vpon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was neuer any nation, ſo fierce, ſo cruell, and rude, but they hadde them in ſuche reuerence, that they counted their bodyes hallowed and ſanctified, and therefore not to be violentlye and vnreuerentlye touched.

They kepe hollye the firſte and the laſte daye of euery moneth and yeare, diuydinge the yeare into monethes, whyche they meaſure by the courſe of the moone, as they doo the yeare by the courſe of the ſonne. The fyrſte dayes they call in theire language Lynemernes, and the laſte Trapemernes, the whyche woordes may be interpreted, primiſeſte and finiſeſt, or els in our ſpeache, firſt feaſte and laſt feaſt. Their churches be verye gorgious, and not onelye of fine and curious workemanſhip, but alſo (which in the fewenes of them was neceſſary) very wide and large, and hable to receaue a great company of people. But they be al ſumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignoraunce in buildinge, but as they ſay, by the counſel of the prieſtes. Bicauſe they thought that ouer much light doth diſperſe mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtful lighte they be gathered together, and more earneſtly fixed vpon religion and deuotion: which bicauſe it is not there of one ſort among all men, and yet all the kindes and faſſions of it, thoughe they be ſondry and manifold, agre together in the honour of the diuine nature, as goyng diuers wayes to one ende: therefore nothing is ſene nor heard in ye churches, but that ſemeth to agre indefferently with them all. If there be a diſtinct kind of ſacrifice peculiar to anye ſeueral ſecte, that they execute at home in their owne houſes. The common *ſacrifices be* ſo ordered, that they be no derogation *nor preiudice to* anye of the priuate ſacrifices and religions. Therefore no ymage of annye god is ſeene in

The obſeruacion of holy daies amonge the Utopians

Their churcheis

Churcheis of dimme light and a reaſon why

the churche, to the intente it maye bee free for euery man to conceiue god by their religion after what likenes and ſimilitude they will. They call vpon no peculiar name of god, but only Mithra In the which word they all agree together in one nature of the diuine maieſti whatſoeuer it bè. No prayers bee vſed but ſuche as euerye man maye boldelie pronounce withoute the offendinge of anny ſecte. They come therefore to the churche, the laſte day of euerye moneth and yeare in the euenynge yet faſtinge, there to gyue thankes to GOD for that they haue proſperouſlye paſſed ouer the yeare or monethe, wherof that hollye daye is the laſte daye. The nexte daye they come to the church earlye in the mornyng, to praye to GOD that they maye haue good fortune and ſucceſſe all the newe yeare or monethe whych they doo begynne of that ſame hollye daye. But in the holly dayes that be the laſte dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the churche, the wiues fall downe proſtrat before theire huſbandes feet at home, and the children before the feete of their parentes, confeſſinge and acknowleginge themſelfes offenders either by ſome actuall dede, or by omiſſion of their deuty, and deſire pardon for their offenſe. Thus yf anye cloude of priuy diſpleaſure was riſen at home, by this ſatiſfaction it is ouerblowen, that they may be preſente at the ſacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. For they be aferd to come there with troubled conſciences. Therefore if they knowe themſelfes to beare anye hatred or grudge towardes anye man, they preſume not to come to ye ſacrifices, before they haue reconciled themſelfes and purged theire conſciences, for feare of greate vengeaunce and punyſhemente for their offenſe. When they come thether, the men goo into the ryghte ſyde of the churche, and the women into the leſte ſyde. There they place themſelfes in ſuche ordre, that all they whyche be of the male kinde in euery houſhold ſitte before the goodman of ye houſe, and they of the female

The confeſſion of the Utopians.

An order for places in the Churche.

cinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forſene that all their geſtures and behauiours be marked and obſerued abrode of them by whoſe authority and diſcipline they be gouerned at home. This alſo they diligently ſee vnto, that the younger euermore be coupled with his elder, leſt children beinge ioyned together, they ſhould paſſe ouer yat time in childiſh wantonnes, wherin they ought principally to conceaue a religious and deuoute feare towardes god: which is the chiefle and almoſt ye only incitation to vertu. They kill no liuing beaſt in ſacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencye of god hath delite in bloude and ſlaughter, which hath geuen liffe to beaſtes to the intent they ſhould liue. They burne franckenſence, and other ſweet ſauours, and light alſo a greate numbre of waxe candelles and tapers, not ſuppoſinge this geare to be any thing auaylable to the diuine nature, as neither ye prayers of men. But this vnhurtful and harmeles kind of worſhip pleaſeth them. And by thies ſweet ſauoures and lightes, and other ſuch ceremonies men feele themſelfes ſecretlye lifted vp, and encouraged to deuotion with more willynge and feruent hartes. The people wearethe in the churche white apparell, The prieſt is clothed in chaungeable colours. Whiche in workemanſhipe bee excellent, but in ſtuffe not verye pretious. For theire veſtimentes be neither embraudered with gold, nor ſet with precious ſtones. But they be wrought ſo fynely and conningelye with diuers fethers of foules, that the eſtimation of no coſtely ſtuffe is hable to counteruaile the price of the worke. Furthermore in theſe birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them, whiche is obſerued in theire ſetting, they ſaye, is conteyned certaine diuine miſteries. The interpretation whereof knowen, whiche is diligentlye taught by the prieſtes, they be put in remembraunce of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them: and of the loue and honoure whiche of theire behalfe is dewe to God: and alſo of their deuties one towarde another. When the prieſt firſt

Ceremonies.

commeth out of the veſtry thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent euerye one reuerentlye to the ground, with ſo ſtill ſilence on euerye part, that the very faſſion of the thinge ſtriketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there perſonally preſente. When they haue lien a litle ſpace on the ground, the prieſt geuethe them a ſigne for to ryſe. Then they ſing prayſes vnto God, whiche they intermixt with inſtrumentes of muſicke, for the moſte parte of other faſſions then theſe that we vſe in this parte of the worlde. And like as ſome of ours bee muche ſweter then theirs, ſo ſome of theirs doo farre paſſe ours. But in one thinge doubtles they goo exceding farre beyonde vs. For all their muſike bothe that they playe vpon inſtrumentes, and that they ſinge with mannes voyce dothe ſo reſemble and expreſſe naturall affections, the ſound and tune is ſo applied and made agreable to the thinge, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger; the faſſion of the melodye dothe ſo repreſente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye moue, ſtirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes. At the laſte the people and the prieſt together rehearſe ſolempne prayers in woordes, expreſſye pronounced, ſo made that euerye man maye priuatelye applye to hymſelfe that which is commonlye ſpoken of all. In theſe prayers euerye man recogniſethe and knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys gouernoure, and the principal cauſe of all other goodnes, thankynge him for ſo many benefites receaued at his hande. But namelye that throughe the fauoure of God he hath chaunced into that publyque weale, whiche is moſte happye and welthye, and hathe choſen that religion, whyche he hopeth to be moſte true. In the whyche thinge if he doo anye thinge erre, or yf there be any other better then eyther of them is, being more acceptable to God, he deſirethe him that he wyl of his goodnes let him haue knowledge thereof, as one th

Theire churche musike.

Prayers.

ready too followe what way ſoeuer he wyll leade hym. at yf this fourme and faſſion of a commen wealthe e beſte, and his owne relygion moſt true and per-cte, then he deſyrethe GOD to gyue hym a con-aunte ſtedefaſtnes in the ſame, and too brynge all her people to the ſame ordre of lyuynge, and to the me opinion of God onles there bee annye thinge at in this diuerſitye of religions dothe delite his vn-rcheable pleaſure. To be ſhorte he prayeth hym, at after his deathe he maye come to hym. But how one or late that he dare not aſſynge or determine. lowebeit, if it myght ſtande with his maieſties pleaſure, e woulde be muche gladder to dye a paynefull deathe nd ſo to goo to God, then by longe lyuing in worldlye roſperitye to bee awaye from him. Whan this prayer is id they ſal doune to the ground again and a lytle after ey ryſe vp and go to dinner. And the reſydewe of the aye they paſſe ouer in playes, and exerciſe of cheualrye.

Nowe I haue declared and deſcribed vnto you, as uelye as I coulde the fourme and ordre of that ommen wealth, which verely in my iudgment is ot only the beſte, but alſo that which alone of ood right maye claime and take vpon it the name of commen wealth or publique weale. For in other laces they ſpeake ſtil of the commen wealth. But ery man procureth his owne priuate gaine. Here here nothinge is priuate, the commen affaires bee rneſtlye loked vpon. And truely on both partes they aue good cauſe ſo to do as they do. For in other ountreys who knoweth not that he ſhall ſterue for hon-er, onles he make ſome ſeuerall prouiſion for himſelfe, hough the commen wealthe floryſhe neuer ſo muche ryches? And therefore he is compelled euen of erye neceſſitie to haue regarde to him ſelfe, rather then the people, that is to ſaye, to other. Contrarywyſe here where all thinges be commen to euery man, it *not to be doubted* that any man ſhal lacke anye *inge neceſſary* for his priuate vſes: ſo that the com-*en ſtore houſes* and bernes be ſufficientlye ſtored.

For there nothinge is diſtributed after a nyggyſhe ſorte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And thoughe no man haue anye thinge, yet euerye man is ryche. For what can be more riche, then to lyue ioyfully and merely, without al griefe and penſifenes: Not caring for his owne lyuing, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complayntes, nor dreadynge pouertie to his ſonne, nor ſorrowyng for his doughters dowrey? Yea they take no care at all for the lyuyng and wealthe of themſelfes and al theirs, of theire wyfes, theire chyldren, theire nephewes, theire childrens chyldren, and all the ſucceſſion that euer ſhall followe in theire poſteritie. And yet beſydes this there is no leſſe prouiſion for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe laboure and take payne. Here nowe woulde I ſee, yf anye man dare bee ſo bolde as to compare with this equytie, the iuſtice of other nations. Among whom, I forſake God, if I can fynde any ſigne or token of equitie and iuſtice. For what iuſtice is this, that a ryche goldeſmythe, or an vſurer, or to bee ſhorte anye of them, which either doo nothing at all, or els that whyche they doo is ſuch, that it is not very neceſſary to the common wealth, ſhould haue a pleaſaunte and a welthie lyuinge, either by Idlenes, or by vneceſſarye buſines: When in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronſmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by ſo greate and continual toyle, as drawing and bearinge beaſtes be ſkant hable to ſuſteine, and againe ſo neceſſary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to continewe and endure one yere, ſhould yet get ſo harde and poore a lyuing, and lyue ſo wretched and miſerable a lyfe, that the ſtate and condition of the labouringe beaſtes maye ſeme muche better and welthier? For they be not put to ſoo continuall laboure, nor theire lyuinge is not muche worſe, yea to them muche pleaſaunter, takynge no thoughte in the meane ſeaſon for the tyme to come. But theſe ſelye poore wretches be preſently tormented

with barreyne and vnfrutefull labour. And the remembraunce of theire poore indigent and beggerlye olde age kylleth them vp. For theire dayly wages is ſo lytle, that it will not ſuffice for the ſame daye, muche leſſe it yeldeth any ouerplus, that may daylye be layde vp for the relyefe of olde age. Is not this an vniuſt and an vnkynde publyque weale, whyche gyueth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldſmythes, and to ſuche other, whiche be either ydle perſones, or els onlye flatterers, and deuyſers of vayne pleaſures: And of the contrary parte maketh no gentle prouiſion for poore plowmen, coliars, laborers, carters, yronſmythes, and carpenters: without whome no commen wealthe can continewe? But after it hath abuſed the labours of theire luſty and flowring age, at the laſte when they be oppreſſed with olde age and ſyckenes: being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, then forgettyng theire ſo manye paynefull watchinges, not remembring their ſo manye and ſo greate benefites, recompenſeth and acquyteth them moſte vnkyndly with myſerable death. And yet beſides this the riche men not only by priuate fraud, but alſo by commen lawes do euery day pluck and fnatche awaye from the poore ſome parte of their daily liuing. So where as it ſemed before vniuſte to recompenſe with vnkindnes their paynes that haue bene beneficiall to the publique weale, nowe they haue to this their wrong and vniuſte dealinge (which is yet a muche worſe pointe) geuen the name of iuſtice, yea and that by force of a law. Therfore when I conſider and way in my mind all theſe commen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do floriſh, ſo god helpe me, I can perceaue nothing but a certein conſpiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities vnder the name and title of the commen wealth. They inuent and deuiſe all meanes and craftes, firſt how to kepe ſafely, without feare of leſing, that they haue vniuſtly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuſe the worke and laboure of the poore for *as litle money as* may be. Theſe deuiſes, when the

riche men haue decreed to be kept and obſerued vnder coloure of the comminaltie, that is to ſaye, alſo of the pore people, then they be made lawes. But theſe moſt wicked and vicious men, when they haue by their vnſatiable couetouſnes deuided among them ſelues al thoſe thinges, whiche woulde haue ſufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the wealth and felicitie of the Utopian commen wealth? Out of the which, in that all the deſire of money with the vſe thereof is vtterly ſecluded and baniſhed, howe greate a heape of cares is cut away? How great an occaſion of wickednes and miſchiefe is plucked vp by ye rotes? For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, rauine, brauling, quarelling, brabling, ſtriffe, chiding, contention, murder, treaſon, poiſoning, which by daily puniſhmentes are rather reuenged then refrained, do dye when money dieth. And alſo that feare, grieſe, care, laboures, and watchinges do periſh euen the very ſame moment that money periſheth? Yea pouerty it ſelfe, which only ſemed to lacke money, if money were gone, it alſo would decreaſe and vaniſhe away. And that you may perceaue this more plainly, conſider with your ſelfes ſome barein and vnfruteful yeare, wherin manye thouſandes of people haue ſtarued for honger: I dare be bolde to ſay, yat in the end of that penury ſo much corne or grain might haue bene found in the rich mens bernes, if they had bene ſearched, as being diuided among them whome famine and peſtilence then conſumed, no man at al ſhould haue felt that plague and penuri. So eaſely might men gette their liuing, if that ſame worthye princeſſe lady money did not alone ſtop vp the waye betwene vs and our lyuing, which a goddes name was very excellently deuiſed and inuented, that by her the way therto ſhould be opened. I am ſewer the ryche men perceaue this, nor they be not ignoraunte how much better it were too lacke noo neceſſarye thing, then to abunde with ouermuche ſuperfluite, to be ryd oute of innumerable cares and troubles, then to be be

Contempte of Money.

ed and encombred with great ryches. And I dowte
that either the reſpecte of euery mans priuate com-
ditie, or els the authority of oure ſauioure Chriſte
hich for his great wiſdom could not but know what
e beſt, and for his ineſtimable goodnes could not
counſel to that which he knew to be beſt) wold haue
ught all the worlde longe agoo into the
es of this weale publique, if it wer not yat
only beaſt, ye princeſſe and mother of all miſchiefe
de, doth withſtande and let it. She
aſurethe not wealth and proſperity by
owne commodities, but by the miſerie and incom-
dities of other, ſhe would not by her good will be
de a goddeſſe, yf there were no wretches left, ouer
om ſhe might like a ſcorneful ladie rule and triumph,
er whoſe miſeries her felicities mighte ſhyne, whoſe
uertie ſhe myghte vexe, tormente, and encreaſe by
gioufye ſettynge furthe her richeſſe. Thys hell
unde creapeth into mens hartes: and plucketh them
cke from entering the right pathe of life, and is ſo
ely roted in mens breſtes, that ſhe can not be pluc-
d out. This fourme and faſhion of a weale publique,
ich I would gladly wiſh vnto al nations: I am glad
that it hath chaunced to the Utopians, which haue
owed thoſe inſtitutions of life, whereby they haue
d ſuch foundations of their common wealth, as ſhal
ntinew and laſt not only wealthely, but alſo as far as
ns wit may iudge and coniecture, ſhall endure for
er. For, ſeyng the chiefe cauſes of ambition and ſe-
ion, with other vices be plucked vp by the rootes,
d abandoned at home, there can be no ieopardie of
miſticall diſſention, whiche alone hathe caſte vnder
te and brought to noughte the well fort[i]fied and
onglie defenced wealthe and riches of many cities.
t foraſmuch as perfect concorde remaineth, and
olſome lawes be executed at home, the enuie of al
ein princes be not hable to ſhake or moue the em-
e, though they haue many tymes long ago gone about
do it, beyng euermore driuen backe.

A maruelous sayinge.

Pryde.

Thus when Raphaell hadde made an ende of his ta
though many thinges came to my mind, which in
maners and lawes of that people ſemed to be inſtitut
and founded of no good reaſon, not onely in the faſh
of their cheualry, and in their ſacrifices and religio
and in other of their lawes, but alſo, yea and chiefly,
that which is the principal foundation of al their ord
aunces, that is to ſay, in the communitie of their
and liuynge, withoute anye occupieng of money,
the whiche thinge onelye all nobilitie, magnificen
wourſhippe, honour, and maieſtie, the true ornamen
and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a comm
wealth, vtterlye be ouerthrowen and deſtroied: yet
cauſe I knew that he was wery of talking, and was
ſure whether he coulde abyde that anye thynge ſhou
be ſayde againſte hys mynde: ſpeciallye remembryn
that he had reprehended this faulte in other, which
aferde leſt they ſhould ſeme not to be wiſe enough,
les they could find ſome fault in other mens inuentio
therfore I praiſing both their inſtitutions and hys co
munication, toke him by the hand, and led him i
ſupper: ſayinge that we woulde chueſe an other ti
to waye and examine the ſame matters, and to ta
with him moore at large therin. Whiche woulde G
it might ones come to paſſe. In the meane time a
can not agree and conſent to all thinges that he ſai
beyng els without doubt a man ſingularly well learn
and alſo in all worldelye matters exactly and profoun
experienced: ſo muſt I nedes confeſſe and gra
that many thinges be in the Uto-
pian weale publique, whiche
in our cities I maye ra-
ther wiſhe for, then
hope after.

¶ Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythlodaye concerning the lawes and inſtitutions of the Lande of Utopia.

¶ To the right honourable Hierome Buslyde, prouost Arienn, and counselloure to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles, Citizein of Antwerpe, wisheth health and felicitie.

THomas More the ſingular ornamente of this our age, as you your ſelf (right honourable Buſlide) can witneſſe, to whome he is perfectly wel knowen, ſent vnto me this other day the ylande of Utopia, to very few as yet knowen, but moſt worthy, which as farre excelling Platoes commen wealthe, all people ſhoulde be willinge to know: ſpecially of a man moſt eloquent ſo finely ſet furth, ſo conningly painted out, and ſo euidently ſubiect to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I ſee ſomwhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday himſelfe (for I was preſent at that talke aſwell as maſter More) vtteryng and pronouncing his owne woordes: Yea, though the ſame man, accordinge to his pure eloquence, did ſo open and declare the matter, that he might plainely enough appeare, to reporte not thinges, which he had learned of others onelye by heareſay, but which he had with his own eyes preſently ſene, and throughly vewed, and wherin he had no ſmal time bene conuerſant and abiding: a man trulie, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience, muche paſſinge, yea euen they very famous and renowmed trauailer Vlyſſes: and in dede ſuche a one, as for the ſpace of theſe viij. c. [eight hundred] yeres paſt I think nature into the worlde brought not furth his like: in compariſon of whome Veſpuce maye be thought to haue ſene nothing. Moreouer, wheras we be wont more effectually and pitthely to declare and expreſſe thinges that we haue ſene, then whiche we haue but onelye hearde, there was beſides that in this man a certen peculiar grace, and ſingular dexteritie to diſcriue and ſet furth a matter withall. *Yet the ſelfe ſame* thinges as ofte as I beholde and con-

ſider them drawen and painted oute with maſter Mores penſille, I am therwith ſo moued, ſo delited, ſo inflamed, and ſo rapt, that ſometime me think I am preſently conuerſaunt, euen in the ylande of Utopia. And I promiſe you, I can ſkante beleue that Raphael himſelfe by al that fiue yeres ſpace that he was in Utopia abiding, ſaw there ſomuch, as here in maſter Mores deſcription is to be ſene and perceaued. Whiche deſcription with ſo manye wonders, and miraculous thinges is repleniſhed, that I ſtande in great doubt wherat firſt and chiefly to muſe or marueile: whether at the excellencie of his perfect and ſuer memorie, which could welniegh worde by woorde rehearſe ſo manye thinges once onely heard: or elles at his ſingular prudence, who ſo well and wittyly marked and bare away al the originall cauſes and fountaynes (to the vulgare people commenly moſt vnknowen) wherof both yſſueth and ſpringeth the mortall confuſion and vtter decaye of a commen wealth, and alſo the auauncement and wealthy ſtate of the ſame may rieſe and growe: or elles at the efficacie and pitthe of his woordes, which in ſo fine a latin ſtile, with ſuche force of eloquence hath couched together and compriſed ſo many and diuers matters, ſpeciallie beinge a man continuallie encombred with ſo manye buſye and troubleſome cares, both publique, and priuate, as he is. Howbeit all theſe thinges cauſe you litle to maruell (righte honourable Buſlid) for that you are familiarly and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea almoſt diuine witte of the man. But nowe to procede to other matters, I ſuerly know nothing nedeful or requiſite to be adioyned vnto his writinges: Onely a meter of. iiij. verſes written in the Utopian tongue, whiche after maſter Mores departure Hythloday by chaunce ſhewed me, that haue I cauſed to be added thereto, with the Alphabete of the ſame nation, and haue alſo garniſhed the margent of the boke with certen notes. For, as touchinge the ſituation of the ylande, that is to ſaye, in what parte of the worlde Utopia ſtandeth, the ignoraunce and lacke wherein we

itle troubleth and greueth maſter More, in dede
phael left not that vnſpoken of. Howbeit with
ie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by
way paſſing it ouer, as meanyng of likelihod to
e and reſerue that to an other place. And the
ie, I wot not how, by a certen euell and vnluckie
unce eſcaped vs bothe. For when Raphael was
aking therof, one of maſter Mores ſeruauntes came
him, and whiſpered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng
n of purpoſe more earneſtly addict to heare, one of
company, by reaſon of cold taken, I thinke, a
peborde, coughed out ſo loude, that he toke from
hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil neuer
ite, nor reſt, vntil I haue gotte the full and exacte
wledge hereof: inſomuche that I will be hable per-
ly to inſtructe you, not onely in the longitude or
e meridian of the ylande, but alſo in the iuſt latitude
rof, that is to ſay, in the ſubleuation or height of the
e in that region, if our frende Hythloday be in ſafe-
and aliue. For we heare very vncerten newes of
ı. Some reporte, that he died in his iorney home-
rde. Some agayne affirme, that he retorned into his
ntrey, but partly, for that he coulde not away with
faſhions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his
ıde and affection was altogether ſet and fixed vpon
pia, they ſay that he hathe taken his voyage
therwarde agayne. Now as touching this, that the
ne of this yland is nowhere founde amonge the olde
auncient coſmographers, this doubte Hythloday
ıſelfe verie well diſſolued. For why it is poſſible
ughe (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in
e time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they
ıer had knowledge of this iland: foraſmuch as now in
time diuers landes be found, which to the olde Geo-
phers were vnknowen. Howbeit, what nedeth it in
behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes,
nge maſter More is author hereof ſufficient? But where-
ıe doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke,
eede herein I both commende, and alſo knowledge the

maister More be to no man better knowen the
or els bicauſe no man is more fitte and me
you with good counſelles to further, and aua
commen wealth, wherin you haue many yeare
continued and trauailed with great glory and
dation, bothe of wiſedome and knowledge,
of integritie and vprightnes. Thus o liberal
ter of good learninge, and floure of this c
I byd you moſte hartely well to fare.
Antwerpe .1516. the firſt daye of
Nouember.

A meter of .iiij. verses in the T
tongue, briefely touchinge aswell the st
beginning, as also the happie and we
continuance of the same common
wealthe.

VTopos ha Boccas peula chama polta cham
Bargol he maglomi Baccan ſoma g ymn
Agrama g ymnoſophon labarem bacha bodamih
Voluala barchin heman la lauoluala dramme

¶ Whiche verſes the tranſlater accordin

¶ A shorte meter of Utopia, written by Anemolius poete laureate, and nephewe to Mythlodaye by his sister.

ME Utopie cleped Antiquitie,
Voyde of haunte and herboroughe,
Nowe am I like to Platoes citie,
Whose fame flieth the worlde throughe.
Yea like, or rather more likely
Platoes platte to excell and paſſe.
For what Platoes penne hathe platted briefely
In naked wordes, as in a glaſſe,
The ſame haue I perfourmed fully,
With lawes, with men, and treaſure fyttely.
Wherfore not Utopie, but rather rightely
My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.

¶ Gerarde Nouiomage of Utopia.

DOth pleaſure pleaſe? then place the here, and well the reſt,
Moſt pleaſaunt pleaſures thou ſhalte finde here.
Doeth profit eaſe? then here arriue, this yle is beſt.
For paſſinge profettes do here appeare.
Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldeſt thou gripe both gaine and pleaſure?
This yle is fraight with both bounteouſly.
To ſtill thy gredie intent, reape here incomparable treasure
Bothe minde and tongue to garniſhe richelie.
The hid welles and fountaines both of vice and vertue
Thou haſt them here ſubiect vnto thine eye.
Be thankful now, and thankes where thankes be due
Geue to Thomas More Londons immortal glorye.

¶ Cornelius Graphey to Reader.

VVilt thou knowe what wonders ſtraunge be in the lande that late was founde?
Wilte thou learne thy life to leade, by diuers ways that godly be?
Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, vnderſtande the very *grounde?*
Wilt thou ſee this wretched world, how ful it is of vanitie?

Then read, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy behoufe, as thou maie beſt.
All thinges that in this preſent worke, that worthie clerke ſir Thomas More,
With witte diuine ful learnedly, vnto the worlde hath plaine expreſt,
In whom London well glory maye, for wiſedome and for godly lore.

¶ The Printer to the Reader.

THe Vtopian Alphabete, good Reader, whiche in the aboue written Epiſtle is promiſed, hereunto I haue not now adioyned, becauſe I haue not as yet the true characters or fourmes of the Utopiane letters. And no marueill: ſeyng it is a tongue to vs muche ſtraunger then the Indian, the Perſian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclauonian, the ciprian, the Scythian etc. Which tongues though they be nothing ſo ſtraunge among vs, as the Utopian is, yet their characters we haue not. But I truſt, God willing, at the next impreſſion hereof, to perfourme that, whiche nowe I can not: that is to ſaye: to exhibite perfectly vnto thee, the Utopian Alphabete. In the meane time accept my good wyl. And ſo fare well.

¶ Imprinted at London in Paules Churche yarde, at the ſygne of the Lambe, by Abraham Veale.
M.D.LVI.

Muir & Paterson, Printers, Edinburgh.

English Reprints.

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JUNE 1869.

THE publication of the 'English Reprints' passed into the Editor's hands on the 1st of May last. An inevitable cessation in the issue of new works ensued: but with the appearance of Howell's *Instructions*, &c., the Series resumes its growth.

A few changes have been made as to works in immediate preparation. (1) *Roister Doister* can be published for Sixpence. (2) An early printed rarity, *The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham*, has therefore been interpolated. (3) ELYOT'S *Governor* has been postponed to next year. (4) In its stead NAUNTON'S *Fragmenta Regalia*, and WATSON'S ἑκατομπαθία, &c. have been inserted.

It is a great gratification to bring back from oblivion the works of so elegant a poet as THOMAS WATSON, of whose renown in his own age Francis Meres thus testifies in his *Palladis Tamia*, 1598.

'As Italy had *Dante, Boccace, Petrarch, Tasso, Celiano*, and *Ariosto*: so England had *Mathew Roydon, Thomas Atchelow, Thomas Watson, Thomas Kid, Robert Greene* and *George Peele*.'—*p.* 282, b.

'As *Theocritus* in Greeke, *Virgil* and *Mantuan* in Latine, *Sanazar* in Italian, and the Authour of *Amyntæ Gaudia* and *Walsinghams Melibœus* are the best for pastorall....'—*p.* 284, a.

There is, however, further gratulation in that S. Christie-Miller, Esq. has generously consented to the printing of Watson's *The Tears of Fancy*, the unique copy of which forms one of the gems of his remarkable collection at Britwell. Altogether, therefore, the Reprint will include above 150 Sonnets, besides the Latin-English elegy *Melibœus*.

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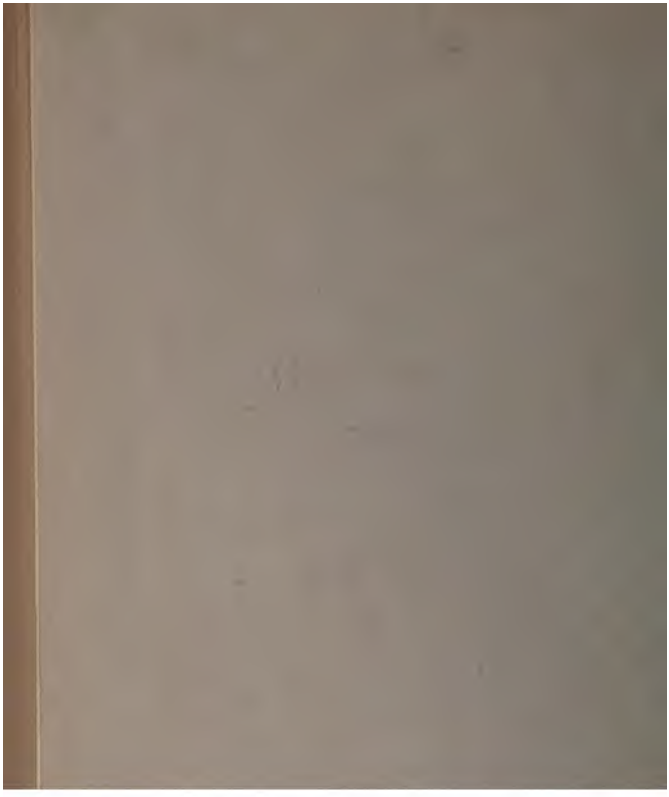

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